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CONTENTS

FORUM

BREAKING HEGEMONIES OVER BODIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

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For a long time, the Cartesian tradition reinforced the dualism between the psychological and the material, reason and passion, mind and body, aspects considered distinct and excluding. Descartes' "I think, therefore I am" confined modern thought to ordered and hierarchical frameworks, with the superimposition of "thinking" on "existing." For Styhre (2004, p. 103), "the mind-body distinction proved to be viable, and the notion of the body was opposed to the mind as the carrier of all inferior, excluded, or marginalized qualities and needs", which resulted in dichotomous, hierarchical thinking of polarized elements. This is how the mind became potentially rational and more significant than the body, a mere material apparatus that imprisons it, hindering the operations of reason (Grosz, 1994). Here, the body is the biological body, "an object in the world about which there can be objective knowledge of a universal kind" (Dale, 2001, p. 9). As a definite article – "the body" – a realistic ontology is assumed: the body is a natural object determined by biological mechanisms on which explanations and predictions can be made, given that it is universal and standardized. As a result, this body – a passive, biological receptacle harboring a voluntary subjectivity – must be controlled and trained.

This dualistic Cartesian conception in which the mind controls and subordinates the body, a mere commodity to be used for the production function, was absorbed by organization theory from its inception, adopting a disembodied approach (Shilling, 2012). The complicity of the area with a rational-modernist project in the Weberian version (Hassard, Holliday, & Wilmott, 2000) prevented any reference to factors other than a "simulacrum body" (Tyler & Hancock, 2001), "artificial man" (Gatens, 1996), something neutral and universal that perfectly reflected

the standard of a worker. Taylor's Schmidt's active body, Ford's spatial control of bodies, and Toyota's "just-in-time" worker are examples of the incessant search for molding workers' bodies by organizational practices that are part of the history of administration (Hancock & Tyler, 2000). As stated by Küpers (2015, p. 94), "because organizations and their members, structures and research exclude, classify, separate, tidy and dislike impurity, heterogeneity, disorder and confusion, they are traditionally reluctant to consider the body and embodiment".

Foucault (2014) stated that a political anatomy of the body emerged in the seventeenth century, allowing the body's management, improvement, and transformation into something docile and useful. In this context, bodies are power devices for controlling population masses through subtle practices that constitute the subject themselves. The body, therefore, is not a merely biological component but mainly a political element in the process of the embodiment of identities (Sasson-Levy, 2008). Embodiment declares that our thoughts, actions, intelligibility, emotions, desires, and everyday strategies are manifested through the body and can be recognized in speech, evidencing how bodies are specifically used, disciplined, and understood in each organizational space (Csordas, 1990; Styhre, 2004). Each organizational context materializes a specific way to perceive and understand the meanings related to the body (Simpson & Pullen, 2018), making it an active element in the constitution of the subject. Embodiment breaks with the Cartesian mind/body dualism because it considers that the body is not a passive product of discourse "reduced to an object wholly consumed and shaped by discourse, but reiterated as a medium of identity expression and resistance" (Thanem, 2015, p. 279).

Sexual bodies, gendered and racialized, were likewise ignored as representing "chaos and disorder and therefore clearly opposed [to] Weberian notions of rationality" (Witz, Halford, & Savage, 1996, p. 173). Any variation on the body somehow affected the social order and, thus, productive rationality, which justified the construction of a true, legitimizing apparatus of order over bodies. While the male body has been considered complete and suitable for the public sphere, establishing itself as the norm, the female body is seen as inferior, unstable, and limited and should be confined to the private sphere (Shilling, 2012). Discursive norms establish when a particular body is considered suitable or not for a particular job and these norms circulate through organizational socialization (Godfrey, Lilley, & Brewis, 2012), with bodies that do not follow the exclusionary and invisible heteronormative binary logic. In this sense, individuals are "trapped in bodily performances by broader relations of power and discourse [and] represented in gender regimes (appropriately male and female performances) [...]" (Sinclair, 2005, p. 388).

Therefore, the body is not denied but treated as an "absent presence", seen as both a machine-organism, "a target of control," and a biological element outside its knowledge domains, in the same way that Shilling (2012) considers the body in sociology. For Thanem (2015), the way we engage with the body in organization studies forged our view of human nature and organizations. According to Dale (2001, p. 21), in organizations, "the division of body and mind was institutionalised through the division of labor, of 'execution' and 'conception'", anchored in the definition of organizations as "organs without bodies" (Dale & Burrel, 2000), as a reified species of concrete entity, a regular and natural organism, which exists independently of the

will of human beings (Chia, 2003). Since scientific management, the big problem related to the body in most organization studies research has been how to standardize, control, and make it more productive, disregarding that it "is a powerful symbolic form, a surface on which the central rules, hierarchies and even metaphysical commitments of a culture are inscribed and thus reinforced through the concrete language of the body" (Bordo, 1992, p. 13).

However, despite the hegemonic emphasis on control, standardization, and productivity of bodies, the topic has not had much space in organizational research. It is treated in an implicit, secondary, and peripheral way, with "considerable activities incorporated by organizations that are excluded, marginalized or neglected" (Styhre, 2004, p. 101), including studies related to identities, considered disembodied for neglecting the body in their analyses (Bardon, Clegg, & Josserand, 2012; Knights & Clarke, 2017; Pullen & Vaccani, 2013). Despite this neglect and prevailing orthodoxy, the field of organization studies is fortunately not monolithic (Reed, 2006; Westwood & Clegg, 2003). In the 1980s, movements with constructionist, critical, and poststructuralist orientations of epistemological and ontological questioning occurred, putting Cartesian rationalism in check (e.g., Clegg, 1987; Clegg & Dunkerley, 1980; Cooper & Burrell, 1988; Reed, 1985). This provided a closer look at the body in organization studies (e.g., Acker, 1990; Barry & Hazen, 1996; Bell & King, 2010; Flores-Pereira, 2010; Flores-Pereira, Davel, & Cavedon, 2008; Harding, Gilmore, & Ford, 2021; Küpers, 2017; Souza, Brewis, & Rumens, 2016; Souza, Costa, & Pereira, 2015; Thanem, 2015; Thanem & Knights, 2012; Trethewey, 1999; Witz, Halford, & Savage, 1996).

The understanding of "the body" as an entity is replaced by the idea of "bodies," a field that encompasses differences (Grosz, 1994): "in theoretical terms, […] some parts of organisation studies have become open to a more fundamental questioning of its common sense-terms and processes" (Dale, 2001, p. 18), including the conception of an organization that comes to be seen as a social and historical construction in becoming and not as a concrete, natural entity external to subjects (Chia, 2003). Thus, reflection in organization studies includes the idea of the embodied body, an experience that is physical and mental, subject and object, nature and culture, characteristic of our existence in society, rejecting the binary conceptions of distinct substances (Cregan, 2006; Dale, 2001; Grosz, 1994). Based on this idea, two aspects are developed in this field: 1) the historical body and 2) the lived body (Dale, 2001).

The historical body is recognized as an object of control, a "built body" (Dale, 2001), "shaped in accordance with external rules and regimes" (Cregan, 2006, p. 7), characterizing the functioning of a constituent process in which the expression of the body is constrained and regulated by the social while simultaneously transforming the subject body into a symbol and a model. The studies developed by Acker (1990, 2006), which laid bare the organizational logic of disembodied work, played a highly relevant role, argue Nkomo and Rodriguez (2018), as they made it possible to think about the regime of inequalities in organizations and the concept of the ideal worker from the perspective of corporeality. Meriläinen, Tienari, and Valtonen (2015) show this when explaining how executive selection practices favor certain types of bodies – white, male, and heterosexual – and Dar and Ibrahim (2019) discuss the production of shame

in the blackened body in academia. In this vein, we see the emergence of studies that reveal organizational processes of bodies' manipulation and control through disciplinary techniques that imprint certain normalizing codes on "colonized bodies" (e.g., Almeida & Flores-Pereira, 2013; Bell & King, 2010; Cutcher, 2021); Hancock & Tyler, 2000; Hyde et al., 2014; Just, Kirkegaard, & Muhr, 2019; Kenny & Bell, 2011; Rosa & Brito, 2010; Sinclair, 2005; Trethewey, 1999; Tyler & Hancock, 2001) leading to the concept that "the body is thus the medium through which socialization into a culture is achieved through a pedagogic process of teaching and learning" (Bell & King, 2010, p. 434). These studies emphasize technologies of power (Foucault, 2014) and control systems that act on bodies, regulating them through a subtle pedagogy (Louro, 2000).

Despite the importance of these studies, most of them are still focused on the mechanisms of bodies' control and manipulation. Thanem and Knights (2012, p. 93) criticize that even to expose this objectification rather than how people experience their incorporation into this machinery "risks construing it as a passive entity to be moulded and managed by the rationalistic acts of the mind, whether through managerial control or self-discipline." For Foucault (2018, 2019), power and resistance coexist in a constant battle over bodies, forming subjects and determining the very condition of their existence. The subject's experience in the world is linked to how their body, as biological material, is perceived in the social, cultural and historical environment which the subject inhabits, which Harding, Gilmore e Ford (2022) call body/flesh. An example is how the discourse of motherhood is inscribed on to every woman's body, making them willing to take care of others (Cutcher, 2021), an association between the biological and social and cultural expectations. Not conforming to this model means being rejected as an abject body (Butler, 2019b). It is not possible to ignore the power that shapes, manipulates, designates, and excludes (Bourabain, 2020; Gatrell, 2014; Mik-Meyer; 2008; Oliveira, 2018; O'Shea, 2019), even knowing that this power is the same that puts it into action since it is the "condition of the subject's becoming" (Butler, 2019a, p. 16). Power is not external to the subject; it is in itself constraining but also brings it into existence, for it does not always produce what it intends. This allows for a glimpse of confrontation and transformation.

The second strand of studies on the body, the lived body, responds to this challenge by including Merleau-Ponty's (1999, p. 122) idea that "the body is the being's vehicle in the world" through which we experience life. For Flores-Pereira (2010, p. 422), "reviewing the incorporating dimension of the socio-cultural environment means presenting a deeper level of importance of the body in the socio-historical-cultural process. It is about a personify body engaged in practical life that, simultaneously, experiences and produces culture and history". This is what Méndez and Mora (2013) highlighted in the case of neo-Pentecostal pastors in Venezuela, who build and rebuild their bodies based on the tension between religious dogmas and the exercise of leadership. In this case, the body is built (inscribed) and builds (active) the culture and history of its environment in constant social negotiation. Thus, when working with this apparent division between the historical body and the lived body, we do not intend to separate the study of the body in a binary way, placing studies that deal with the body in different categories. The idea is to make this field more intelligible based on the contours it took with the emergence of

new perspectives. However, it is important to keep in mind that the different ways of studying the body are not separated from one another:

> The way in which we experience our bodies is influenced by the societal norms around us, so that, for example, the lived experience of being a young white woman is shaped significantly by cultural expectations and ideals of a female body, in relation to the acceptable size and shape of the body, its comportment, adornment and so on. How we experience our bodies is also influenced by what we 'know' about anatomy and physiology, so that we identify particular feelings and changes of our bodies in relation to medical constructs of what is 'normal' or 'abnormal' (Dale, 2001, p. 12).

For Thanem (2015), these aspects of the body manifest in organization studies in six thematic categories of research: (1) the body as an object of discursive construction, seeking to understand oppressions, discriminations, disciplines and identity expressions, using as post-structuralism and feminist philosophy as analytical approaches; (2) the body as a form of desire and resistance to disciplinary and oppressive discursive constructions, based on post-structuralism and materialist feminism; (3) the body as a target of capitalist exploitation at work, using Marxist philosophy ; (4) the body as object and subject of social, labor, and managerial interactions of lived experiences and a way of generating knowledge, using feminist and phenomenological philosophy; (5) the body used by feminist and phenomenological philosophy as a theme to establish qualitative research methods; and (6) the body as an ethical subject in readings of Levinas and Spinoza. Although such typologies are a form of synthesis of the possibilities that present themselves to the eyes of researchers, they can function as limits that restrictand challenge new reflections and investigations toward an increasingly broader and deeper understanding of the phenomenon, as in the case presented below.

Discussing and facing hegemonies

In this special issue, we count on a privileged portrait of Brazilian production on the subject of bodies and how they relate to the perspective of hegemony in organizations. We received 18 high-level manuscripts dealing with different aspects of the problem. After passing the scrutiny of the special editors and resourceful reviewers, five contributions were selected, addressing diverse perspectives on the phenomena studied, briefly presented below.

To bring the psychoanalytic notion of the body to organization studies, Marcelo Galletti Ferretti and Luiz Eduardo de Vasconcelos Moreira in their article "A defense of the erogenous body in Organizational Studies," propose to examine how the notion of the erogenous body – which is so important for psychoanalysis – can serve as a refinement of corporeality in the scope of organization studies, breaking with the hegemonic view of the body originating from

anatomopathological medicine. The erogenous body became something eroticizable, beyond biology, organic, and somatic. Lacan systematized his ideas about the body, taking it as a real body – referring to sensations, desire, and jouissance – an imaginary body – a human silhouette or shadow, the image of the body reflected in the mirror – and a symbolic body – the named body, named by the "I" of that body and by others, therefore significant as it engenders, replaces, and modifies reality.

The contributions of psychoanalysis provide rich elements for organization studies, particularly by challenging the passive notion of the human body as part of Cartesian architecture with predictable, tameable movements and at the service of exclusively economic logic. The authors discuss data from an extensive ethnography carried out in two investment banks. They conclude that, although it is still organic, the body lends itself to other nuances and is the loci of incidence of several properly organizational aspects, such as control and corporate management policies.

Francielli Borges Ladeira Martins and William Antonio Borges, in "Body colonization and women's despersonification in the obstetric system," discuss the submission of women to medical-hospital authority during pregnancy and childbirth, a process that takes place on multiple levels. This reifies a science that is hegemonically produced by men and assumes pregnancy and childbirth to be more pathological than physiological processes, which justifies medicalization for the return to "normality" and, thus, obstetric violence. Deterritorialization occurs in the body's subjection, which submits the vital process of female bodies to medical events under the control of institutions, resulting in dehumanization, lack of control over the body itself, and the inherent phenomena. It also takes place in the subjection of the individual to social norms that make the pregnant woman's body docile as she submits to the system as a whole.

Women's depersonification during childbirth converts the singularities of the experiences of pregnancy and childbirth into records of bureaucratic incidence, violating the "I" of these women. This is verified, among other issues, in aspects such as constant surveillance, technical knowledge authority, the social distance between the women going through the processes and those who supervise them, the standardization of procedures and meeting their demands, and the subjection to the institution's routines. Together, both deterritorialization and depersonification are reflections of an apparatus of gender oppression disguised as scientific knowledge – allegedly technical and neutral – and which, precisely for this reason, need to be questioned toward the humanization of organizational practices. In the essay "Self-stylization and resistance in the context of LGBTQ+," Marcus Vinicius Soares Siqueira and Bárbara Novaes Medeiros examine the process of stylization of the self of bodies of people who are part of this population as a form of resistance. The authors analyze the bodily normatization inspired by Nietzsche and his understanding of bodies in their multiplicity and the will to power, and by Foucault regarding the care of the self and sexuality as a device and its effects on bodies. The body aesthetic dimension considers that a body – as it incorporates so-called dissident experiences – manifests aesthetic aspects as an inseparable part of who a person is.

The many possibilities of existence imply many possibilities of bodies, imbued with the capacity to be everything they can and want to be. Such subjects also present ethics associated with their own existence and how they take care and need to take care of themselves, based on who they are and not on parameters of normality that classify them as "different." The authors conclude that "freedom exists in a process; it is something to be continuously conquered," especially by bodies that dare to disobey the overwhelming heteronormative matrix of differences. To the same extent that there is a whole process in progress that seeks to submit corporeality to defined patterns of what is considered "normal," there is an immanent resistance in all bodies that dare to present themselves reconfigured, dissident, undisciplined, free on account of an aestheticization that reveals there is more than biology and that aestheticizing is a way of resisting and relating to the world with affection and alterity.

In "Gender-body-sexuality in spatializing: producing bodies-in-the-field in research," Romulo Gomes and Leticia Fantinel considered the challenges of an ethnographic-based theoretical-empirical study to conceptually develop the notion of "bodies-in-field" to deal with the production of knowledge "not about, but with people." The proposal starts from a rejection of hegemonic organizational practices that hierarchize bodies based on a specific notion of social order. It simultaneously allows the researchers' bodies to be reflected on since there is a collective process to investigate the production of materiality and spatiality. The authors question the dominant perspective of not discussing the body of the researcher, which ends up translating not only an ideal hierarchy of neutrality but the silencing of racial, sexual, and gender dynamics, for example, which are part of what is inherent in research.

Based on data from an ongoing study of a civil society organization focused on the population of transvestites and trans women in the Brazilian state of Espírito Santo, the text brings relevant contributions by highlighting the need to think about space as a daily practice permeated by bodies, which makes it a 'bodily space.' Analyzing space, therefore, implies assuming that it is a dynamic process in which hierarchies of existences are observed, materialized in bodies that are assumed to be expected, to the direct detriment of others. The research allows us to glimpse not only dimensions linked to the humanization of research practices but also the recognition of ethical challenges linked to the production of knowledge in organization studies. In the text "BDSM: bodies and power games," Andressa Carolina do Nascimento Nunes and Rafael Diogo Pereira focus on sexuality and explore the dynamics between bodies and spaces in the context of erotic BDSM, defined as the "combination of varied erotic practices gathered around the expression 'Bondage, Domination, Sadism, and Masochism'" (Ferreira, 2014, p. 375, our translation). They start from a simple assumption: sexuality, fetish, and power are elements that can go together and constitute a particular dynamic and are relatively under-examined from the point of view of organization studies, which tends to privilege the relationship between sexuality and organizations under more conventional optics. Based on an investigation based on interviews, participant observation, and a field diary in a BDSM community in Belo Horizonte, the authors verify many crossings that put into perspective different hegemonies present in sexual practices. The text explores aspects such as the enactment of power in the group's practices and the issue

of bodies and their limits, influenced by an economy that supports community practices. The article was based on Foucauldian discussions.

The implications of this proposal occur at several levels, as the study suggested. On the one hand, an explicit break with a certain 'vanilla' way of expressing sexuality, which has different implications, directly related to sex. On the other hand, sexual practices place the issue of corporeality in a central position, mainly because of the intended use of the body, overcoming biological or moral definitions. If this use diverges from what is acceptable, there is a whole series of exclusions linked to what is considered manifestations of sexuality outside the standards, for example. There is still a rich debate among feminists about the extent to which the dynamics of submission do not act by reinforcing aspects of an already known subalternation of female bodies in this context, a debate particularly enriched with the figures of the dominatrix and the performances of female protagonism – even if authors such as Saraiva and Silva (2021, p. 19, our translation) question the extent to which apparently autonomous female performances fit into scripts conceived by men: "it is not about minimizing the agency of women at all, but it should be noted that there are structural factors that place the feminine in a peripheral place and subject to the masculine." The authors problematize that, in an erotic dynamic with consensual relationships around a power dynamic, concepts, roles, stereotypes, and judgments tend to diverge as mismatches between social prescription and real-life in society become present, with their peculiarities.

Completing this issue are two texts written by Jo Brewis and Saoirse O'Shea in the section 'Perspectives.' The first of these, "Menopause in the Brazilian workplace: A research agenda for scholars of management and organization studies," by Jo Brewis, addresses an inevitable process: biological aging manifested for women in a stage of their life as menopause. The author points out a series of physical and/or psychological aspects associated with the phenomenon, almost always felt by women as debilitating. The article focuses on problematizing the lack of studies on this topic, which affects the lives of women over 45 years of age, and presents an agenda for researchers in the area of management and organization studies to incorporate a concern with this topic, especially regarding the work environment.

In the second text, "Academic unfreedom," Saoirse O'Shea explores the complexity of the elements associated with freedom in academia, strongly conditioned by the "need to find funding for empirical research and to comply with the requirements of the funding agency, our institutions, and peers and colleagues." This is an increasingly acute situation in which universities are pressured to train employable professionals and subject themselves more and more clearly to the pressures of public opinion. More than mere freedom of expression, academic freedom supposes that academic authority based on advanced knowledge of a subject, judged by peers, defines what can be practiced and, consequently, spoken. When opinions – often explicitly conservative and discriminatory, such as those directed at transgender people in the UK by transphobic people – are conveyed by a conservative press, this does not and should not carry the same weight as positions built up over the years by people who are dedicated to studying the phenomena in depth. Academics cannot, therefore, be intimidated.

We hope our readers enjoy reading as much as we did working on the guest editorship of this issue. We hope these texts can sow multiple renewed ways of recognizing, facing, and breaking different hegemonies over bodies and organizations toward free and emancipated bodies to exist as they see fit. We wish you a pleasant read.

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FORUM

STYLIZATION OF THE SELF AND RESISTANCE IN THE LGBTQ+ CONTEXT

Estilização de si e resistência no contexto LGBTQ+

Estilización de sí y resistencia en el contexto LGBTQ+

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ABSTRACT

This theoretical essay aims to reflect on the process of stylization of the self among LGBTQ+ bodies as a form of resistance. Inspired by two key post-modern authors, namely Nietzsche and Foucault, and based on the category of stylization of the self, we analyze the normalization of bodies and also processes of resistance. The discussions are directed at thinking about LGBTQ+ bodies from a non-identity, queer resistance perspective in terms of both will to power and care of the self, in a critical way, not with a view to radical social transformation, but to particular advances, especially at the individual and group/subculture levels, which can play a significant role in redirecting social relations. Queer pleasure thus emerges as an element that arranges the resistance category in the sphere of stylization of the self by establishing micro-transformations in the workplace as a way of tackling discipline and normalization.

Keywords: LGBTQ+ bodies, stylization of the self, care of the self, resistance, queer pleasure.

RESUMO

O objetivo deste ensaio teórico é o de refletir acerca do processo da estilização de si entre corpos LGBTQ+ como modalidade de resistência. Pretende-se analisar a normatização de corpos e os processos de resistência a partir da categoria de estilização de si, inspirando-se em dois autores-chave do pós-moderno: Nietzsche e Foucault. As discussões voltam-se para se pensarem corpos LGBTQ+ em uma perspectiva não identitária e de resistência queer em termos de vontade de potência e do cuidado de si, sob uma lógica crítica, não pensando em um processo radical de transformação social, mas de avanços pontuais, especialmente em nível individual e de grupo/subculturas, que podem ser significativos para o redirecionamento das relações sociais. O prazer queer, portanto, revela-se como ordenador, da categoria da resistência em âmbito da estetização de si ao estabelecer microtransformações no ambiente de trabalho, como um caminho que faça frente à disciplina e à normalização.

Palavras-chave: corpos LGBTQ+, estilização de si, cuidado de si, resistência, prazer queer.

RESUMEN

El objetivo de este ensayo es reflexionar sobre el proceso de autoestilización entre cuerpos LGBTQ+ como modo de resistencia. Este trabajo pretende analizar la normalización de los cuerpos y los procesos de resistencia desde la categoría de autoestilización, inspirándose en dos autores clave de la posmodernidad: Nietzsche y Foucault. Las discusiones se centran en pensar los cuerpos LGBTQ+ en una perspectiva no identitaria y de resistencia queer en términos de voluntad de poder y autocuidado, bajo una lógica crítica, no pensando en un proceso radical de transformación social, sino en avances específicos, especialmente a nivel individual y grupal/subculturas, lo que puede ser significativo para reorientar las relaciones sociales. El placer queer, por lo tanto, se revela como organizador de la categoría de la resistencia en el ámbito de la autoestetización al establecer microtransformaciones en la esfera profesional, como un camino que haga frente a la disciplina y a la normalización.

Palabras clave: cuerpos LGBTQ+, autoestilización, autocuidado, resistencia, placer queer.

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this theoretical essay is to reflect on the process of stylization of the self among LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transvestite, transsexual, queer and other) bodies as a form of resistance. We intend to analyze the normalization of bodies and also resistance processes based on the category of stylization of the self, inspired by two key post-modern authors: Nietzsche and Foucault. In terms of the former, it is essential to examine his analyses of bodies understood in their multiplicity and will to power, an essential concept to Nietzsche; and in terms of Foucault, we examine works related to the care of the self, one of his last reflections, along with discussions on sexuality as a device, and the effects it has on bodies.

Resistance is understood in this study within a context of power, in power relations that make it possible to find spaces to question norms that restrict discourse and of repositioning the "subject" within the game it is situated in, in perpetual spirals of power and pleasure (Foucault, 2001a), including in the organizational environment. This study considers a critical logic, not with a view to radical social transformation, but to particular advances, especially at the individual and group/subculture level, which can be significant for redirecting social relationships, even if these changes are not explicit.

Stylization of the self among LGBTQ+ bodies is to constitute oneself as an artwork and to establish new configurations, a new aesthetic in the relationship with the other, it is to turn to bodies which resist assimilation and remain true to their dissident desires and pleasures, not specifically extinguishing norms, but rather rearranging them. Norms which are reconfigured, as discussed by Perreau (2018), within the sphere of studies of queer theory (Rumens, 2016; Souza, 2017; Souza & Carrieri, 2010).

Within this context, we speak of trans, non-binary, intersexual, and effeminate bodies. These are bodies which challenge the standards of masculinity and femininity, thus breaking with heterosexual norms and destabilizing social values (Carrieri, Souza, & Aguiar, 2014). Bodies that that are constantly being constructed (Butler, 2019b). Bodies that subvert and exist outside the sexual-social binary order. It is about retaking the body amid the explosion of discourse which, in the context of the body-mind duality of Cartesian thought, keeps them subordinate (Thanem, 2015). Thus, it is assumed that the individual can influence power games, not specifically as a self, a pretended subject committed to the search for self-knowledge, but as a body that is itself the great reason, as characterized by Nietzsche (2011).

Stylization of the self can be perceived as a form of resistance, also within the context of the political redirecting of the sexuality device, understood as a discourse, and also of the relationship with the Other, of the multiplicity of alternatives arising from the questioning of discipline and normalization. Due to the primary and unintentional questioning of their affection, and due to their own desire, the LGBTQ+ can become a singular object in this stylistic process, considering such individuals in becoming, as Foucault points out, always in a process of construction, of organization of desire, of the multiple forces struggling within oneself.

Importantly, this study is significant in terms of the intermediary groups between the individual and society, such as organizations. Individual and collective experiences and changes

which affect how the individual interacts within the organizational context, in terms of their relationships which maintain structures and control (Souza, 2014; Souza, Costa, & Pereira, 2015). Resistance as a category, and as part of Foucault's perspective on power relations, is significant to relativize and minimize the effects of domination and disciplinarian action within the organizational context. Resistances that exist in power itself and are assumed by it, but which also lead to change (Foucault, 1987, 2001a, 2019).

It should be noted that even though there have been few LGBTQ+ articles within the sphere of organizational studies, including regarding organizational diversity (Ng & Rumens, 2017), whether national or international, a number of researchers have made an effort to produce critical-theoretical knowledge in the field over the past 15 years (Carrieri et al., 2014; Irigaray & Freitas, 2011; Irigaray, Saraiva, & Carrieri, 2010; Pompeu & Souza, 2019; Saraiva & Irigaray, 2009; Siqueira, Saraiva, Carrieri, Lima, & Andrade, 2009; Siqueira & Zauli-Fellows, 2006), thus making queerer a field that is rather conservative (Rumens, 2016; Souza, 2017; Souza & Carrieri, 2010) under the hegemony of functional studies.

An example of this is the study of the body in organizational theories, from a theoretical-critical perspective, like the one proposed in this article, inasmuch as it examines the body as stylization of the self and resistance in the LGBTQ+ context with regard to abjection within organizations, or more precisely "zones that are unlivable" and "uninhabitable" by those who are not recognized as subjects (Butler, 2019a, p. 18). The stylization of LGBTQ+ bodies itself rethinks power relations, the domination by the heterosexual matrix, of combatting heteronormativity, thus creating conditions for organizations to become queerer as understood by Rumens (2016). It is in this sense that this article represents an advance in terms of previously established debates, such as those referred to by Thanem (2015) in their use of lenses of post-structuralism, feminist social philosophy, Marxism, phenomenology, among others. In addition, it is fundamental to work with studies that reflect on resistance, a theme not often addressed in LGBTQ+ studies, especially in the field of Administration. In this respect, we should note Castro and Siqueira's (2020) study on LGBT resistance within the context of soccer.

With these considerations, this theoretical essay consists of four sections in addition to this introduction. The first is a Nietzschean analysis of the body, which is significant for thinking in terms of LGBTQ+ bodies from a non-identity, queer resistance perspective. The second section looks into Foucault's discussion of the care of the self. Then we establish discussions, with queer pleasure as an arranging element, of the resistance category within the sphere of aestheticization of the self. Finally, we present our final considerations and suggestions for future research.

THE NIETZSCHEAN DEMYSTIFICATION OF THE BODY

Nietzsche is one of the main philosophical references in post-modern discussions within the context of post-structuralism. In the field of Organizational Studies, this philosopher is especially remembered with regard to his considerations about the subject, especially when analyzing themes such as individual autonomy, a Kantian postulate that Nietzsche leaves aside. A question

that is posed, for example, in the theoretical-critical context, is "Who emancipates oneself?", if we consider that the I is a fiction and that this "dilution of the substantiality of the subject identified with the unity of consciousness" (Giacoia, 1998, p.113) suffers critical sanctions. Nietzsche (2005) says, "What gives me the right to speak of I as a cause, and finally I as a cause of thought?" (p. 21). And, if there is no I as substance that is even unified, if it is a fiction, then who resists, who emancipates oneself? Such questions are part of queer studies (Rumens, 2016; Souza, 2017; Souza & Carrieri, 2010), which are based on a constructionist approach and on gender performance, or in other words, "saying that gender is performative implies that it is culturally written and that it is naturalized in most subjects through psychological internalization and repetition" (Alegría, 2018, p. 14).

The configuration of the subject in Nietzsche and the abstract quality of its nature are in consonance with queer theory, especially in the relation with the body and of who is behind the act, behind the action, a subject who arises from the body. This is an anti-essentialist analysis that encompasses Nietzsche's and Butler's thought (2019b), about a subject who is not pre-discursive and who is closely related to the notion of body.

We start from the Nietzschean assumption that "the organization of the body in terms of drive is governed by values and preferences" (Salanskis, 2016, p. 160), in a close relationship with culture. These are the values and social norms that are problematized in a process of reappropriation of bodies, specifically LGBTQ+ bodies, resisting a given cultural construction and, we cannot omit it, of resumption of the will to power, one of Nietzsche's basic concepts. The stylization of bodies is carried out in this context of resistance, a central theme in this article's theoretical discussion, even against an "anti-sensualist metaphysic" (Nietzsche, 1998, p. 24), of understanding of the lived experience and of the stimulus to action, a reinvigoration of the individual in its relationship with social norms and values.

The perspective of the body in Nietzschean thought cannot be understood out of the context of one of its main philosophical contributions, the notion of will to power, this affection which is an affirmation of life, of its constant expansion, and of the endless struggle of forces, a network of dynamic impulses, without characterizing unity, but rather multiplicity, as expounded by Benoit (2011). Based on Nietzschean thought, Giacoia (1998) says that "the world reflected in the mirror of will to power is the world of multiplicities, of plural forces in the constant play of oppositions and alliances" (p. 117). The body, in all its plurality, not uniformity, is fundamental to sustain will to power.

Nietzsche (2011) says that "the body is me entirely, and nothing more; and the soul is just a word for a something in the body [...] a great reason, a [...] multiplicity [...]" (p. 34). A great reason which, Marton (2009) points out, is distinct from our consciousness, one of our instincts, which is the small reason. Barrenechea (2017) says that "reason constitutes a tyrant, a hypertrophied tyrant [...] which subjects others [...] and devalues everything that is not rational" (p. 65). Within the context of this great reason, affections, instincts and will become preponderant, even commanding the individual, with reason being left in the background and having to reposition itself. His critique of a metaphysics of the subject pervades his methodological hypothesis of will to power, one of his main concepts along with the superman, nihilism, and the eternal return of the same (Benoit, 2011).

Nietzsche criticizes the body-mind duality and the substantiality of the body – or rather "bodies" –, which is not a thing or entity. "The German philosopher strongly contests any concept that supports the supposed substantiality of man" (Barrenechea, 2017, p. 16). The critique is carried out in the domain of substantiality and of duality. He breaks with the mind-body metaphysical duality of Descartes and Plato, as well as the omnipotence of mind over body. To Nietzsche (2011), even though this is one of the impulses of man, it is not the central one, the one at the foundation; it is subjugated by the impulse of expansion of life, of connection with the earth, with life, with will to power. The body is resumed as preponderant in relation to the spirit, the soul, consciousness. The body is retaken from those who despised it and moved away from life; this opens space for the constitution of the superman. The body is thus not subordinate to the transcendent, a perspective which is left aside by the Nietzschean superman, affirming his affiliation to the earth, where even suffering, he remains, accepting life as it is. According to Nietzsche (2011), "it was the sick and the moribund who despised the body and the earth and invented these celestial things [...]" (p. 33). It is wanting nothingness, different from not wanting anything, "wanting to live in an ideal future in a hypothetical perfect world. Wanting nothingness is wanting what is beyond, an illusion, the utopian life" (Barrenechea, 2017, p. 35). On the other hand, not wanting anything is related to being open to life, the unknown, the new, while wanting nothingness is moving oneself away from life. The latter is inherent in the ascetic ideal contested by Nietzsche (1998).

Subjectivity defined by the body leads to this decentralization of the coherent and unitary perspective of the pretended subject, without individuals, which is significant for our study, especially in terms of the relationship of the body with this care of the self which Foucault (2001b) speaks of, and the possibility of discussing the stylization of the self. It begins to be "understood based on the 'social structure of impulses and affections', or as a 'hierarchy of many souls' conceived according to the guiding thread set by the body" (Giacoia, 1998, p. 129). This denies the subject through thought, the Cartesian principle, which reduces itself to the representation of deep impulses of oneself, of the body (Giacoia, 1998; Benoit, 2011).

In terms of this duality discussed in this study, "with modernity, there came the implosion of the human being – who was divided into reason and passions, intellect and senses, conscience and instincts" (Marton, 2009, p. 58). And always with domination of the former over the latter. Nietzsche (2011, p. 35) reinterprets this perspective, highlighting the domain of oneself which is in the body, it is the body, predominating over the fiction of a unified and stable individual, and being entirely based on our affections. Barrenechea (2017), in turn, says that "man denominates himself I because he believes that the succession of his psychological states demonstrates the existence of a subjective substrate: a substance which possesses continuity over time" (p. 48). And his critique of the subject continues, considering it "arrogant, the I believes that it knows everything that happens in the body" (Marton, 2009, p. 63).

However, we see, through Zarathustra, the body taking over space from the subject. This is what Barrenechea (2017) stresses: "the body is a thread that makes it possible to descend into the depths of man to detect unconscious impulses which are the basis of all thought" (p. 24). According to him, a relation of forces in continuous clash. In fact, Nietzsche takes the perspective

that behind thought there is affect, passions, which are deeper than thought – including will to power, which is externalized in terms of impulses by affection. In this way, he maintains his position against dualism – rationality and passion; it is not that the latter should be fanatically accepted, but neither can it be eliminated, in a contempt for the body, but rather be understood, interpreted and controlled (Wotling, 2003).

In this change of positions of thought and body, desire is also problematized. Nietzsche (2005) says that, in the context of desire, there is thought behind this wish, the affection of command. And because oneself is a multiplicity of affections, "a man who wants – commands something inside himself that obeys, or that he believes that it obeys" (p. 23). This is the context of the plurality of affections, of both domination and resistance.

It is in this sense that Nietzsche (2005) says that free will "is the expression of the multiform state of pleasure of one who desires, which orders and at the same time identifies himself as the executor of order – who, as such, enjoys the triumph over resistance, but thinks to himself that it was his will that overcame it" (p. 24). This Nietzschean aphorism is relevant because it reminds us that the organization of desires by the individual, in its search to become what it is (Butler, 2019b), which emerges in some specific action, such as showing the body in a way that is different from what is culturally and socially established, is not the fruit of free will, but rather of the advent of affection, which in that specific moment overflows and predominates.

Resistance is identified in two senses: the first in terms of affections which are dominated within the context of oneself, and the second in terms of institutionally established social constructions, including the contempt for the body. Resistance to repression, not that the latter is preponderant, according to Foucault's critical analysis of the repressive hypothesis. There we have the care of the self (Foucault, 2001b), creating beings performatively, though without the presence of the agent, just the action is valued: and as developed by Nietzsche (1998), "[...] there is no being behind doing, behind acting, behind becoming; the 'agent' is a fiction added to the action. Action is everything" (p. 36).

STYLIZATION AND FOUCAULT'S CARE OF THE SELF

The body has in Foucault (1985, 1987, 2001a, 2001b) a unique political dimension, and it is analyzed within the context of the economy of power, in that this economy captures bodies in their materiality, forces, energies, sensations and pleasures. The body is not "a thing or substance, but the continuous creation of events or occurrences" (Souza et al., 2015, p. 735). It can be a tortured body, which needs to be exposed publicly, to demonstrate force and inhibit crimes which harm the sovereign, using a logic of truth. It only leaves the stage as the main character in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the punishment of crimes no longer needs to use the body, but its representation, in dealing with issues of dissident sexuality. The dimensions of the soul and passion enter this universe.

It is within this movement that bodies come to be understood as discursively produced and as the fruits of social construction. For Souza et al. (2015), the body is organized and constitutes

itself through organizing, it does not exist *a priori* or pre-discursively, but it is rather a truth that is socially constructed and propagated. Thus, there are no free bodies, because no performance is free, even LGBTQ+ bodies, which are constantly questioned within the social and organizational context. There are power relations that operate on the arrangement and constitution of bodies, subjectivities and senses, well beyond organizational boundaries, which encompasses the entire social body. Within the context of organizations, the potential of organizing tends to involve and attach bodies to cultural constructions pervaded by norms and values that seek to homogenize ways of being and acting in the organizational environment.

On the other hand, the body can be constructed to resist preestablished standards in the cultural sphere. These forms of resistance work together with the reappropriation of our bodies, in constructing them metaphorically like sculptures, based on the organization of desire and of the expectations of pleasure. These experiences of resistance can creatively inspire similar acts by other bodies in organizations. An stylization of bodies, which produce themselves whether or not being influenced in a more significant manner by the care of the self (Foucault, 2001b). This breaks with the mind-body duality in practice, leading to resignification, even in the organizational context. An example of this in organizations is a break with the functionality of heteronormativity, which according to Priola, Lasio, Serri, and Simone (2018), moderates processes of inclusion, recreates hierarchies and binary patterns among LGBTQ+ individuals by including and normalizing some LGBTQ+ workers, while others remain excluded for exhibiting diversity that does not conform with the norms.

Resistance opens possibilities for the subversion and discontinuity of norms. The body, produced by discourse and signified in discourse, is undone in the face of social prisons, of linguistic and normative coercion (Butler, 2019b; Foucault, 2001a). The intent of subversion is not to deny the materiality of bodies. That "which constitutes the fixity of the body, its contours and its movements," and makes it material (Butler, 2019b), but realizing how discursive practices cause the body to become a definer of gender and sexuality. Bodies that transgress norms express alternatives of gender identity. This is part of the process of disinteriorization of a discourse which historically and socially has been assumed to be true. It is the reiteration of the body as a means of expressing identity and resistance (Thanem, 2015), in other words, as a part of the stylization process.

And one of the discussions that help us understand the stylization process concerns the analyses conducted by Foucault (1985, 2001b) regarding the care of the self in consonance with the use of pleasure, one of his last discussions. This problematization arises during the unstable Hellenistic socio-political scenario, in which turning to oneself could represent the way to deal with all of these transformations and constitute oneself as a singularity.

Halperin (2015), a commentator of Foucault's work regarding the LGBTQ+ context, says that this art of living "was an ethical practice which consisted in freely imposing on one's own life a distinctive individual style, transforming oneself, according to one's own conception of beauty or value" (p. 91), far from a prohibiting law, including regarding the economy of pleasure. It should be emphasized, based on the Nietzschean perspective, that this aesthetic construction is not a self-reflection of the spirit, but rather a repositioning of the body and its affections and

impulses, without depreciating consciousness, but repositioning it as well in relation to the body, the great reason, and its drive complexes (Giacoia, 1998).

Analyzing the stylization of the self involves understanding, in genealogical terms, the analysis of the body and soul as objects which determine instances of power, which define, systematize, and produce forms deemed appropriate for maintaining the serenity of the soul and the health of the body, and mainly for personal autonomy. And, as Halperin reminds us (2015), this stylization is not something psychological or mystic, but rather a strategy to have greater mastery over oneself, a place of radical alterity. The focus is on pleasure, jouissance, and not on desire, serenity and mastery over oneself. Reappropriation and satisfaction of the self. 'Yes' to life is closely related with this this satisfaction with oneself (Nietzsche, 2012).

Foucault (1985) says that this art of taking care of the self is far from the negative perspective on sexual pleasure, and from the establishment of laws and norms which govern desire, but it is this reality that will be implemented during the centuries that follow. It should be stressed, however, that even in a dispersed way, we can identify codes of sexual conduct that might be used as basis regarding everyday social relationships. These are, therefore, elements of a morals of pleasures, much more of self-regulation than of the prohibition or normalization, which Foucault refers to (1985).

Halperin (2015) analyzes this period of Foucault's writings, in which the focus is on this relation with oneself, the background being the discussion of sexuality, especially gay sexuality. Within this context, homosexuality would be a "strategically situated marginal position from which it is possible to discern and develop new forms of relations with oneself and with others" (Halperin, 2015, p. 89). And this attitude could establish a subculture oriented to this stylization, not to moral normalizing systems of the contemporary world, but rather to the delineation of original ways of life. Bodies that resist and meet in a multiplicity of relations.

In fact, the body is open to alterity, the "I envisaged in a new way as a corporal self [...] capable of emerging as a collective individual, this open or structurally relational subject itself is thus only just leaving a metaphysically closed unity in which metaphysics, as an atomistic fury, had imprisoned him" (Benoit, 2011, p. 460). Based on the metaphysical analysis of the Nietzschean subject, Benoit (2011) says that "becoming is characterized as multiple drive games, which may, in the absence of something better, make one think of various types of will to power" (p. 454). In this sense, the homosexual person would be in a constant process of reorganization of drives and desires as analyzed by Butler (2019b), who also considers Nietzsche's philosophy to be one of her foundations.

It is in this sense that we speak, in terms of the queer view in social relations, of representative elements of queer theory, for the re-elaboration of social norms and the repositioning of the subject in relation to institutions (Perreau, 2018). This is not a shift towards disorder or disorganization, but towards resistance, based on openness to desire, challenging the organizational status that involves organized ways of life (Thanem, 2004), in other words, challenging organizing processes (Souza et al., 2015).

All this is so at least in theoretical terms; in everyday life, as regards the LGBTQ+ culture, there is the reproduction of mechanisms of subjection, prejudice and discrimination, such as

the presence of black or Muslim gay men in places mostly frequented by white gay men (Perreau, 2018). The same thing occurs with trans individuals or effeminate gay men or masculine lesbians (Carrieri et al., 2014; Irigaray & Freitas, 2011). Thus, the opportunity is missed to modify relations with the other, which is essential to the aestheticization process, which LGBTQ+ individuals would be able to build in a more compelling way. This also applies to homo-liberalism, understood here as the adoption of managerial logic and work relations that are exclusionary and can be thought of in the light of critical-theoretical elements, such as resistance, hegemony, power, subjection and emancipation (Siqueira, Medeiros, Silva, & Castro, 2020). These are practices that could be inspired by LGBTQ+ bodies.

It is therefore necessary to mention that LGBTQ+ bodies do not necessarily represent a new configuration of social norms and values; they often reinforce existing and eroded ones, and embody truculence and a lack of empathy, thus denying the differences that constitute them. We also should mention that resistance does not only occur in the individual, but above all in the collective arena, in a redirecting of social relations, in stimulating a taste for alterity and in valuing democracy. Non-classified bodies understood democratically, a multiplicity of bodies that is analogous to the multiple nature of the Nietzschean body (Nietzsche, 2011). Finally, it is also possible to return strongly to Preciado's concept (2011) of queer multitudes and all their richness of bodies.

Already beginning the next topic's more specific discussion of LGBTQ+ resistance and bodies, we have to mention the tensions inherent in terms of the contexts of the groups encompassed in this acronym as well as the identity and post-identity debate. First of all, we need to clarify that the agglomeration of various social groups under a single acronym does not make explicit the homogenization of these segments which are so diverse, even though there is a thread that joins them with regard to moral violence (Siqueira et al., 2009), which makes political action viable in organizations as well as within the social context. An example of this refers to the tensions between gay men and lesbian women in LGBTQ+ activist groups, which can lead to ruptures between them based on a lack of understanding of the specificities of each group. The reality of a trans person, for example, is so singular, that they often have difficulty in sharing experiences with gay individuals (Colling, 2015). Bisexual individuals are wary of gay prejudices that they are promiscuous or people who still have not accepted that they are gay (Köllen, 2013). The queers, with a post-identity perspective, have a sharp eye for social norms and regulations, while frequently omitting themselves as to the history of achievements in the gay identity movement, such as the fight against AIDS, staged by Act Up during the 1980s and 1990s (Perreau, 2018). There are even deeper tensions which go back to the very discussions regarding essentialism and social constructionism from various perspectives, and to discussions of intersectionality and political categorization and representation (Butler, 2019a, 2019b).

LGBTQ+ BODIES, RESISTANCE AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE SELF

This article assumes that resistance to the normalization or discipline of bodies makes it possible, based on its transformational potential, to expand the establishment of new relations with the

other beyond the domain of sexuality and gender expression. This resistance also resonates within the political sphere at various institutional levels. Of course, resistance is part of power and is situated in power relations that do not in fact exist without it, as Foucault (2004) puts it: "if there is no resistance, there are no power relations, because everything would simply be a matter of obedience" (p. 268). Thus, power itself requires resistance, as Souza (2014) reminds us, based on Foucault's perspective, or in other words, a certain degree of freedom, as long as it is controlled and watched, is necessary for the development of this power, when the establishment of strategies or the intention of hegemony is not possible, as the author points out.

Halperin (2015) enumerates forms of resistance, in his readings of Foucault, such as: creative appropriation and resignification, appropriation, theatricalization, exposition, and demystification. The first refers to the reappropriation of language, such as the reappropriation of the term 'queer', as the origin of a way of thinking and living. The second has to do with parodies, for example. The third is a form of denaturalization, of the development of knowledge based on discourse deconstruction. This last element could also be viewed as the homosexual person's repositioning from being an object to being a subject. The queer sex makes it possible to establish a new relation with the body, desexualizing it, letting pleasure not be centralized in the sexual organ, but rather in the entire body.

Foucault (2004) says: "I believe that we have a form of creation, a deposit of creativity, whose main characteristic is what I call the desexualization of pleasure" (p. 264). These practices allow resistance against sexual disciplines, as mentioned by Halperin (2015). To that end, it is necessary to understand *a priori* the very nature of this device. According to Foucault (2015), "there is a psychologism of sexuality, a biologism of sexuality and, therefore, the possible capture of sexuality by doctors, psychologists, by instances of normalization" (p. 5).

Within this context, Foucault (2004) says that "sex is not a fatality: it is a possibility of acceding to a creative life" (p. 260). Resistance is carried out not just at the individual, but also at the collective level, these are points that can configure a revolution (Foucault, 2001a, 2001b). And the LGBTQ+, in their continual process of construction, an incessant becoming, could constitute the privileged locus of these changes, especially in a society which has sex as its main discourse, producing bodies and sexualities. When sex is politicized, more space is open for questioning normalization and discipline, including in terms of sexuality.

Strange, queer bodies can be configured at these points of change, of rearrangement of social relations, also within the organizational context (Rumens, 2016; Souza, 2017; Souza & Carrieri, 2010). According to Foucault (1981, 2004), we create freedom, the concept of a new way of life, based on relational perspectives. We can use sexuality as non-fixity, as the fluidity of gender, to arrive at a multiplicity of relations. And further, reflecting in terms of the difficulty of the social acceptance of homosexuality which transcends the act itself and affects the way an individual establishes his or her life, Foucault (1981) says that "institutional codes cannot validate these relations of multiple intensities, of varied colors, of imperceptible movements, of forms which modify themselves [...]" (p. 39). It is, first of all, the difficulty dealing with the uncertainty, with the fragility of the relations and changes that are naturally established as a result.

It should be noted, however, that when Foucault problematized the categories of resistance, he did not want to fall into the same normative domain, which was the object of systematic criticism. As a result of this, as Halperin mentions (2015), he "refuses to codify resistance practices, and refuses even more to help with their institutionalization" (p. 135). Thus, we should beware not to enter, when we think of resistance practices, the same logic of the oppressor's domination. The aestheticization of the self is intertwined with our understanding of resistance, both in individual and in collective terms. A cultivation of the self "which transcends the self" (Halperin, 2015, p. 126). We decenter and open up to the other, to the taste for alterity.

It is thus that resistance, understood from the perspective of a transformation of the self, problematizes social norms and repositions us in relation to them, thus rearranging them. It is a process characterized by creativity, joy, risk, the new and the exciting. This is the context of possible emancipation, not considered to an absolute or utopian extent, but making use of civilizing gaps. This is a rearrangement of power relations which cannot be restricted to the LGBTQ+ culture, and which inspires new ways of existence (Halperin, 2015, p. 123), beyond the expansion of relational ways. According to the author, "the future that Foucault imagined for us, is not exclusively or categorically gay. However, it is definitely queer." Non-continuous, non-natural, non-essential, non-elementary, interrupting any possibility of coherence which binds bodies, genders, sexes and sexuality. After all, there are no limits in the identification process – in the way of being, acting and representing –, in relation to the organizing process which is not limited to just the boundaries of a company," but rather directs minds and bodies in organized behavior (Souza et al., 2015, p. 733).

Thus, resistance ceases to emphasize the egalitarian political movement and directs itself toward the transformation of the self, having pleasure and decentralization of identity as a guide to be followed (Butler, 2019a, 2019b). We should stress, however, that this configuration coexists with the appropriation of the individual situated in the LGBTQ+ culture by the normalization of conducts and the homogenization of experiences, which reinforce ways of life, and do not just reinforce the production of laws which regulate pleasure, but also assume ideological perspectives that maintain the status quo of social relations within a context of economic exploitation, and in conformity regarding the power that produces the regulation of sexual pleasure. Resistance within the context of the body extrapolates the limits of sexuality and of gender expressions; it has transformational potential in other instances and in the relationship between the individual and institutions. It is abandoning oneself, launching oneself into uncertainty and the unknown, and in a certain way, it is being consistent with the multiplicity that is characteristic of bodies. A path opens up to creativity and new forms of affection. Resistance, in this manner, arises from the body and from all the relations of force that cross it. This is from a Nietzschean perspective. These are affections and feelings in the logic of pleasure, which supports the stylization process of LGBTQ+ individuals, breaking with the very concept of sexuality that is touted in its normalizing dimension (Foucault, 2015).

The stylization of the self represents the everyday work of social and psychic ruptures. It is the care of the self which Foucault (1985, 2001a) retrieves from the ancient Greeks, and which

comes to have significance within the modern context, without the proper transpositions or reductions. An exercise of freedom, as mentioned by Halperin (2015) in his analyses of Foucault, the aesthetic of existence. Forces which can be understood in the light of Nietzsche's will to power, the affirmation of life, of multiplicity, of contradictions experienced in bodies, which construct themselves creatively, as Foucault reminds us (2004).

It is seeking new ways of life, having pleasure as an ally, even to achieve new pleasures. And identity, even homosexual identity, cannot represent resistance, of the very resistance inherent in this stylization. In this post-identity context, spaces open up for the rearrangement of desire, of new organizations of impulses and affections, which, far from stabilizing us, make us dynamic and expand our desire to live and resist.

In organizations, the desiring body is capable of going beyond mechanisms of order, control, discipline and normality within a context of supposed organizational stability. It becomes powerful in the face of homogenization, proposing radical diversity in the workplace. Instead of considering the organization as powerful, resistance (not in the direction of disorder or disorganization) in the organizational field can encourage people to change their habits within and outside of the work environment (Thanem, 2004), to challenge discourse, knowledge and power orders (Foucault, 2001a), and to not express the aestheticization of the self within an original standard, of "normal" and "common" bodies.

As Butler says (2019b), "styles have a history, and their histories condition and limit their possibilities" (p. 240). The body is marked by history, and history ruins the body (Foucault, 2019). A resignification and reconstruction of history perhaps would be important for a new reading of the body, of organizational culture and practices, like the study presented by Flores-Pereira (2010), in which the body emerges as a symbol of sociocultural relations within a given organization.

A field of dispute opens up by putting into action, movement and functioning by means of a power network. After all, the body, according to Preciado (2014), is a place of resistance, it is not passive. It has a political condition, and speaks, is active, and can escape all the meanings which are imposed on it within the normative matrix preached by the hetero-centric system. Resistance, therefore, is in the field of counter-productivity, or in other words, the production of new forms of knowledge-pleasure alternative to modern sexuality and the plurality of gender expressions. It reinforces the power of deviations, derivations and discursive changes. And though organizations might provide fewer and fewer opportunities for doing so, Thanem (2015) affirms that we should make an effort to subvert these powers by exercising our corporal capacities together with others.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This work reflects on the stylization of the self and resistance within an LGBTQ+ context in the face of alienation by organizational cultures, which are not significantly open to diversity and differences. We have sought to expand knowledge of LGBTQ+ bodies within the context of organizing processes as they appropriate for themselves the potential of resistance.

Within the organizational universe, sexuality is avoided, and diverse gender expressions are censured. Discussing sexual diversity causes fear; it is something that is viewed as private. Bodies can be seen as masculine or feminine, as representations of virility or femininity, of boldness or sweetness, but not as sexualized bodies, not for eroticism, not for gender expressions which extend beyond binary norms. It is in this way that bodies are submitted to power, but they are not completely dominated, and there exists the possibility of change. Considering that resistance is present within the context of the very power which it helps construct, there is always the possibility of forces which resist and establish micro-transformations in the workplace, as imperceptible as they may be, but which may be filled with meaning.

This is the domain that LGBTQ+ bodies present in this scenario, transiting without fear in the domains of sexuality and gender expressions. Political bodies can move and break with socio-organizational expectations, in order to climb a path of resistance within the sphere of the aestheticization of the self, in the face of discipline and normalization, in search of establishing micro-transformations within the workplace. It is something that strikes fear in organizations, but at the same time attracts them.

Bodies desirous of queer pleasure. Committed to performatively create subjectivities in the search for knowledge of the self, stylization of the self, as a mode of resistance and of relation with the other. It is taking care of the self as an art of saying yes to (re)existence, in the face of all that seeks to impede possible emancipation. It is the right over oneself, which can inspire new forms of existence which are unstable even in their instability. A path opens up to a more creative life, with affection and alterity. Uncertainties grow in the act of taking care of the self as a reason to (re)exist.

To deepen this study, we suggest theoretical-empirical research encompassing the stylization of the self and the resistance of LGBTQ+ bodies within the context of organizing processes in various institutions of power, such as the school, church, and public, private and governmental organizations, in order to understand how the potential of queer resistance (joyful, detached, humorous), not just at the individual but also at the collective level, can rearrange processes, structures, norms and cultures based on a new aesthetic in our relations with others. It is recognizing the taste for alterity and the search for queer pleasure as arrangement ideas for dealing with all the possibilities of transformation. Thus, it is opportune not to restrict the research focus to LGBTQ+ bodies and culture, considering that this study encourages expanding the research perspective over a multiplicity of relational modalities within organizational practices, exercised not necessarily within the limits of companies, but through other groups, which are structured in a differentiated manner and deal with diverse human relations, especially with the different. It is also important to open spaces for studies with intersectional perspectives.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

FORUM

BDSM: BODIES AND POWER GAMES

BDSM: Corpos e jogos de poder

BDSM: Cuerpos y juegos de poder

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to analyze how the power relations that govern bodies and conduct among erotic BDSM practitioners are configured. It adopts a Foucauldian perspective in that it seeks to link its analysis of fetishistic practices to Foucault's theories of power relations. Methodologically, field observation and interviews were carried out and a field diary was kept. The analysis of the research corpus was based on Foucault's enunciative analysis, and it shows a set of statements, practices and rules of conduct that connect to a dense web of power relations between practicing subjects. By way of conclusion, their degree of rupture with and reproduction of the hegemonic sexual matrix is discussed. Finally, we emphasize the importance of Organizational Studies taking on further research into the multiplicity of dissident sexualities, in their process of struggle and resistance.

Keywords: BDSM, bodies, power, Organizational Studies, Foucauldian discourse analysis.

RESUMO

Este trabalho tem por objetivo analisar como se configuram as relações de poder que regem corpos e condutas entre praticantes do BDSM erótico. Adota uma perspectiva foucaultiana, buscando ancorar a análise das práticas fetichistas sob o fulcro dos jogos e relações de poder. Metodologicamente, foram realizados observações, entrevistas e diário de campo. A análise do corpus de pesquisa baseou-se na análise enunciativa foucaultiana, evidenciando o rol de enunciados, práticas e regras de conduta que se articulam a uma densa trama de relações de poder entre os sujeitos praticantes. À guisa de conclusão, problematiza-se o grau de ruptura e reprodução da matriz sexual hegemônica vivenciado pelos praticantes. Além disso, destaca-se a importância para os Estudos Organizacionais de abarcar estudos sobre a multiplicidade das sexualidades dissidentes, em seu processo de luta e resistência.

***Palavras-chaves:** BDSM, corpos, poder, Estudos Organizacionais, análise do discurso foucaultiana.*

RESUMEN

Este trabajo tiene como objetivo analizar cómo se configuran las relaciones de poder que rigen los cuerpos y comportamientos entre los practicantes del BDSM erótico. Adopta una perspectiva foucaultiana, buscando anclar el análisis de las prácticas fetichistas bajo el fulcro de los juegos y las relaciones de poder. Metodológicamente, se realizaron observaciones, entrevistas y un diario de campo. El análisis del corpus de investigación se basó en el análisis enunciativo foucaultiano, mostrando un listado de enunciados, prácticas y reglas de conducta que se articulan en una densa red de relaciones de poder entre sujetos practicantes. A modo de conclusión, se discute el grado de ruptura y reproducción de la matriz sexual hegemónica que experimentan los practicantes. Además, destaca la importancia de que los Estudios Organizacionales abarquen estudios sobre la multiplicidad de sexualidades disidentes, en su proceso de lucha y resistencia.

***Palabras clave:** BDSM, cuerpos, poder, Estudios Organizacionales, análisis del discurso foucaultiana.*

INTRODUCTION

In the field of Applied Social Sciences, particularly in Organizational Studies, the topic of sexuality is often addressed from the perspective of relations of discrimination and harassment in the workplace, as shown in the works of Souza and Pereira (2013) and of Pompeu and Souza (2018). Such perspectives are valuable and necessary in drawing attention to certain oppressive practices which may exist in organizational environments. As such, it is evident that there is plenty of opportunities for further exploration of the topic of sexuality.

Therefore, this study aims to analyze how the power relations that govern bodies and behaviors are configured in the context of erotic BDSM as practiced in the city of Belo Horizonte. The acronym BDSM should be read in pairs, which may be interpreted as follows: (BD) Bondage and Discipline; (DS) Domination and Submission; (SM) Sadism and Masochism (Silva, 2018).

It is worth noting that erotic BDSM will be understood herein as a set of principles and practices within the contexts of sadomasochism and fetishism. Although not necessarily sexual in nature, BDSM practices are commonly associated with eroticization and the attainment of pleasure through the use of accessories and consensual engagement in erotic role-playing. BDSM is not a solitary endeavor, but a practice which requires social spaces and individuals properly initiated in the set of rules and behaviors that sustain it (Simula, 2019). According to Silva, Paiva and Moura (2013), adherents of such practices comprise a community, in which they identify with and share similar sexual preferences and attitudes towards the world. This community interacts in private spaces with access restricted to members, who exchange, in addition to pleasures, information and techniques on how to improve and make their practices safer (Weiss, 2011).

By analyzing the set of statements, conduct and experiences of the individuals who occupy these spaces, this research seeks to contribute to the study of new loci at the core of Organizational Studies, where the unmistakable interface of sexuality and organizations might be made evident. Simultaneously, by questioning the power relations present in such spaces, we seek to contribute to the discussion of practices related to the rupture with the hegemonic matrix of sexuality, its actions on the bodies that it regulates, and their actions of resistance.

BDSM AND POWER RELATIONS

According to Simula (2019), in recent years, there has been a proliferation of references to BDSM in the media, accompanied by a growing interest in the subject on the part of national (Barp, 2019; Grunvald, 2021; Nunes & Pereira, 2017; Silva, 2018) and international academia (Fanghanel, 2020; Lawson & Langdridge, 2020; Thomas, 2020). Therefore, in relation to the historical trajectory of BDSM, rather than investigating any alleged origin, we will shift our focus to identifying a variety of trends in studies on the subject.

Since the 18th century, a process of medicalization of desire can be observed, where studies conducted during this period would identify BDSM primarily as "abnormal and deviant", and

would seek to "explain sadomasochistic etymology and establish 'cures'" (Simula, 2019, p. 4). Only from the 1940s onwards, the inclusion of BDSM practices in the catalogs of human sexual behavior began to replace the former pathologizing perspective with a view to considering BDSM a personal interest and a lifestyle (Simula, 2019). In the 1980s, Simula (2019) identifies a shift in studies of the *leather movement* (or gay BDSM) towards the inclusion of heterosexual participants. In turn, during the 1990s, studies began to consider the social collective, and to explore the organization of BDSM practicing subcultures and communities. Our study is linked to this last trend of work, in line with research by Weiss (2011), Facchini (2013), Silva (2018) as well as Lawson and Langdridge (2020), among others.

More than just physical stimuli, BDSM relations include situations of domination and submission in consensual contexts, practiced by adults and governed by a set of rules related to sanity, safety and consent, represented by the acronym "SSC" (Sane, Safe, Consensual) (Facchini, 2013; Silva, 2018). As the possibilities for practicing BDSM are wide-ranging, anything from light erotic games to intense participation and engagement in the SM environment – which can involve presence in demonstrations and events (Simula, 2019) – may be included under the term.

In these relations, erotic scripts are negotiated between two main roles: Top / Sadistic / Dominant and bottom / masochistic / submissive (Freitas, 2010), commonly styled with a capitalized word for dominants and a non-capitalized word for submissives, in a clear allusion to their engagement in power dynamics. A third role that can also be inhabited is that of the Switcher, an individual who moves freely between roles depending on the partner, the situation or preference (Simula, 2019). While the adjective "sadistic" emphasizes aspects related to physical stimulation and testing the limits of the body, the term "dominator" refers to the psychological character of relationships, the exercise of control over the other, psychological torture, as well as deliberate and consented humiliation (Freitas, 2010). In the words of Foucault (2004),

> I think that S&M is much more than that; it's the real creation of new possibilities of pleasure, which people had no idea about previously. The idea that S&M is related to a deep violence, that S&M practice is a way of liberating this violence, this aggression, is stupid. (pp. 263-264)

According to Foucault, the notion that practitioners are aggressive toward each other would be wrong, since, from his perspective, they create new experiences using the most unusual objects to stimulate any part of the body in the most unusual situations in order to produce pleasure (Foucault, 2004a). In short, the aim is to eroticize bodies by shifting the idea of genital pleasure to a more diffuse set of pleasures, capable of assigning new meanings to bodies, sensations and objects.

Although references to physical pain are abundant in discussions related to BDSM practices, Freitas (2010) argues that "what unites the letters and gives meaning to the practices are the power relations" (p. 4). Foucault (2004a) already pointed in the same direction when asserting that the game proposed by S/M

> (…) is very interesting as a source of bodily pleasure. But I wouldn't say that it is a reproduction, inside the erotic relationship, of the structures of power. It is an acting-out of power structures by a strategic game that is able to give sexual pleasure or bodily pleasure. (p. 271).

In this respect, it is opportune to succinctly revisit Foucault's concept of power relations. The primary point is that there is no predominant, single theory about power in Foucault, and therefore the most sensible step forward is to allude to a Foucauldian analysis of power, because, for the thinker, what matters is the uncovering of the mechanisms, devices and effects that evolve from the exercise of power (Foucault, 1998). Another fundamental point is that, in Foucault, power has a relational character, functioning in the shape of a network or mutual entanglement. In other words, according to Foucault, power is a general matrix of force relations in a society, at a specific time. Power relations are deeply rooted in the nexus of the social network, where power-plays substantiate and become evident in the organizational apparatus, in the production of knowledge, in the formulation of laws and in social hegemonies (Alcadipani, 2008).

Another fundamental point concerns the negative and positive dimensions of power, which can be understood based on the meanings of their effectiveness, such as repression versus education or, still, punitive versus productive. Thus, insofar as power not only represses but also impresses reality, the individual represents one of the most important consequences of the exercise of power, as they constitute themselves as a subject within the arena of power relations. However, it is worth noting that for Foucault there is no power without resistance:

> If there was no resistance, there would be no power relations. Because it would simply be a matter of obedience. [...] So resistance comes first and resistance remains superior to all forces of the process, power relations are obliged to change with the resistance. So I think that resistance is the main word, the key word, in this dynamic. (Foucault, 2004b, pp. 9-10).

In summary, Foucault considers that, historically, individuals constitute themselves based on power relations, regimes of truth, practices of the self and discourse which supports these relations, intimately linked to the power and knowledge arrangements of their own time (Foucault, 1998, p. XIX).

BODIES, FREEDOM AND DISSIDENT SEXUALITIES

According to Foucault (2006), during the 1960s we began to discover how sexuality, among a number of other topics that were previously considered marginal, occupies a central place in the political domain. Foucault (2006) asserts that "power does not operate in a single place, but in multiple places: family life, sex life, the way in which mentally ill people are treated, the exclusion of homosexuals, the relationships between men and women [...] all these relations are political relations" (p. 262). Thereby, Foucault considers sexuality to be pervaded with power, through

which relationships between individuals are part of the social domain and evidence a political investment of bodies. Furthermore, Foucault sees in sexuality a way of creating new modes of existence, through the work that subjects carry out on themselves. In the words of Foucault:

> When analyzing the experience of sexuality [...] I became increasingly aware that, in all societies, there are other types of techniques that allow individuals to carry out a certain number of operations on their bodies, on their souls, about their own thinking, about their own conduct, and that in such a way as to transform themselves [...]. Let's call these types of techniques of the self or technologies of the self. (Foucault, 1993, p. 207).

In her seminal text, *"Thinking sex"*, Rubin (1984) starts from a historical review of interventions in sexuality, stating that "the realm of sexuality also has its own internal politics, inequities and modes of oppression. As with other aspects of human behavior, the concrete institutional forms of sexuality at any given time and place are products of human activity. They are imbued with conflicts of interest and political maneuver, both deliberate and incidental. In that sense, sex is always political. But there are also historical periods in which sexuality is more sharply contested and more overtly politicized. In such periods, the domain of erotic life is, in effect, renegotiated" (Rubin, 1984, p. 143).

It is important to reflect on the exclusions that befall social groups and bodies that are out of alignment with certain pre-established social standards, such as: male, white, heteronormative, youthful, slim, non-disabled and "Western" (Souza & Pereira, 2013). This observation is especially pertinent to groups representing "dissident sexualities", a term adopted by Rubin (1984) meaning sexualities that exist on the fringe, outside standards considered socially legitimate and acceptable: The "non-reproductive, homosexual, extramarital, outdoor, intergenerational, pornographic, sadomasochistic sexualities" (Freitas, 2011, p. 2). In other words, sexualities which differ from the binary heteronormative model that divides men and women, organizing and controlling social life, equate sex with reproduction, and institutionalize heterosexuality as a compulsory lifestyle (Souza & Carrieri, 2010).

It is worth pointing out that the device of sexuality, according to Foucault (2011), is constituted by mechanisms of power which not only interrogate sex about the truth of its pleasures and the truth about the individual, but which also inscribed in bodies the sexuality that is revealed, diagnosed and normalized by discourses of psychiatry and medicine, thus multiplying existing sexualities and labeling "perversions". In other words, the hunt for peripheral sexualities by producing truths about sex in scientific discourse, has intensified the effects that these mechanisms of power have on sexual bodies. As such, separation, moral classification and spatial organization are instrument-effects of this new power device operating on sexuality, and are part of the dynamics expressed in Foucauldian power-resistance theory.

As observed by Weiss (2011), the BDSM scene is formed by a community of subjects that share desires, pleasures and techniques, maintaining an economy based on the purchase of props, gadgets and admission to themed events. In other words, it provides a space in which not

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only dissident sexuality is acted out, but also a whole economy of bodies and sex is supported, thus enabling its analysis from the perspective of Organizational Studies. A set of "erogenous organizations" (Pereira, 2016) emerge, spaces whose organizational aspects are directly connected to the phenomenon of sexuality. Under the broad spectrum of this concept, a plethora of spaces and experiences involving sexuality may be grouped, including brothels, motels, swing clubs, gay saunas, erotic film producers, porno theaters, strip clubs, massage parlors and spaces dedicated to the practice of BDSM.

Thus, such spaces can be understood as "concrete-symbolic appendages of our society, whose reserved place on the fringe is accompanied by a set of possibilities of resignification or rupture that allow the subjects who populate them to transform, create or recreate their ways of life" (Pereira, 2016, p. 16), and whose places can be clearly observed in BDSM practice spaces. Such a view is linked to the notion of freedom present in the works of Foucault, since his thought, according to authors such as Orellana (2008), may be considered a "philosophy of freedom", in which freedom is not opposite to power. From this perspective, power can only exist where there is freedom, since, according to Foucault, power is a mode of action carried out upon the action of another. Therefore, it is necessary for the other to be free to act, as otherwise it would not be possible to think of a relationship of power, but one of violence, domination or repression (Foucault, 1998).

> My role - and that is too emphatic a word - is to show people that they are much freer than they feel; that people accept as truth, as evidence, some themes which have been built up at a certain moment during history, and that this so-called evidence can be criticized and destroyed. To change something in the minds of people - that's the role of an intellectual. (Foucault, 2004b, p. 52).

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In this study, we adopted a qualitative research approach supported by critical theory, primarily due to its potential for questioning hegemonic science. As Gamson (2006) points out, it is crucial to maintain awareness of the political use of positivist sciences against the interests of individuals who declare themselves as belonging to sexual and gender minorities. Therefore, adherence to the qualitative research model herein represents both a political and an academic choice, given the possibility of approaching (previously considered) marginal themes.

Employing a qualitative research model also means unifying, under the umbrella of the term, a set of research practices which enable the proposed methodological coupling, and facilitate approaching a theme that is both complex and opportune as it pertains to Organizational Studies. For this study, we highlight non-participant observation, use of a field diary and semi-structured interviews as a means to collect information and build the research *corpus*.

Non-participant observation involved the recording of observations within the researched group, by researchers who were not part of the group prior to the research, and were not familiar

with the BDSM universe. During a period of 10 months in the field, observations were carried out in 12 different events that took place within the BDSM community of Belo Horizonte.

In turn, a field diary was kept, in which entries were made after attending each of the 12 events, and following each interview. During the events, our intention was to observe the spaces, the dynamics between participants, their rules of conduct and how they behaved in their respective positions and relations of power. Contact was made with the organizer(s) prior to each event, in order to present the research and request access to community spaces, obtaining positive responses from everyone involved.

A series of semi-structured interviews were held and audio recordings of spoken reports of BDSM practitioners were made. A total of 7 interview sessions with 9 practitioners (two were held with pairs) were recorded, resulting in approximately 16 hours of audio and 173 pages of transcript. A total of 37 questions were prepared in a semi-structured script, which guided the approach to discussing aspects of the subjects' paths of discovery, insertion and interaction with the BDSM environment.

The selection criteria for the interviewed subjects considered the roles they occupied in the BDSM environment and their availability for interview participation. Guarantee of anonymity and security in obtaining the subjects' statements was transmitted to them through the presentation and signing of a "Free and Informed Consent" form, concurrent with the observation of ethical parameters for Human and Social Sciences, as established by resolution 510 of the National Health Council, of 4/7/2016.

Exhibit 1 below shows the demographic profiles of respondents, along with their chosen names/nicknames as used throughout the research:

Exhibit 1. Demographic data of respondents

Identification	BDSM role	Gender [1]	Color [2]	Sexual orientation	Social class [3]
Carlos	Podolatry	Male	White	Heterosexual	Middle
Ariel	Dominator	Fluid [4]	White	Pansexual	Middle
Baboshka	submissive	Female	White	Heterosexual	Middle
Mr. Green	Dominator	Male	Black	Heterosexual	Middle
Jhuh Sjofn	Dominator	Female	White	Heterosexual	Middle
Iggdrasil de Jhuh	submissive	Male	Black	Heterosexual	Middle
Ares	Switcher	Male	White	Heterosexual	Middle
Natasha	Switcher	Female	White	Pansexual	Middle
Dom L	Dominator	Male	White	Heterosexual	Middle

1: Perceived.

2: Perceived

3: Perceived.

4: Switches between male and female gender expressions.

The method of analysis proposed for this study is based on some aspects and elements of both the archeology and the genealogy of Foucault (1998, 2008), being tentatively developed in order to enable an analytical construct focused on the appreciation of power relations, statements, subject positions and roles occupied by BDSM practitioners. This approach is not unprecedented, considering that authors such as Araújo (2008) argue that the genealogical approach does not replace the archaeological approach, but that on the contrary, both are directly articulated in the works of Foucault.

From a Foucauldian perspective, the analysis of statements goes beyond formal or grammatical analysis, linking itself to the examination of the relationships between discourses, statements and the production of effects of truth in a given context. According to Foucault (1998), each society sustains certain regimes of truth, evoked in order to differentiate discourses held as true from those disqualified as false, giving the former their specific power effects.

> The affirmation that the earth is round or that species evolve does not constitute the same statement before and after Copernicus, before and after Darwin; it is not, for such simple formulations, that the meaning of the words have changed; what has changed was the relation of these affirmations to other propositions, their conditions of use and reinvestment, the field of experience, of possible verifications, of problems to be resolved, to which they can be referred. (Foucault, 2008, p. 116).

Thus, the statement represents a rare resource, which appears to be a useful and desirable asset for dispute, "[...] that has its own rules of appearance, but also its conditions of appropriation and operation; an asset that consequently, from the moment of its appearance [...] poses the question of power; an asset that is, by nature, the object of a struggle, a political struggle" (Foucault, 2008, pp. 136-137). For this reason, Foucault emphasizes the importance of regimes of appropriation and position of the subject. In other words, not everyone is free to state anything, anywhere, as "[...] none shall enter the order of discourse if he does not satisfy certain requirements, or if he is not, from the outset, qualified to do so" (Foucault, 1996, p. 10).

Furthermore, it is from certain foundations of knowledge that some subjects assume a position to speak about the objects that populate their discourse. Such foundations can refer, for example, to the discourse of the sciences; for Foucault (2008), we can name a system of dispersion and regularities, which articulates certain sets of statements, as a discursive formation, "thus avoiding words that are already overladen with conditions and consequences, and in any case inadequate to the task of designating such a dispersion, such as 'science', or 'ideology', 'theory', or 'domain of objectivity'" (Foucault, 2008, p. 44).

Based on the concepts presented, the enunciative analysis will be structured in three principles, presented separately herein for methodological purposes only, namely: 1 - the discourses and foundations of knowledge which affect BDSM practitioner-subjects and the emerging counter-discourses; 2 - the power relations between practicing subjects; 3 - the staging of the power games within BDSM practices.

BETWEEN LIGHT AND SHADOW: BODIES, PLEASURE AND POWER RELATIONS

Analyzing the events held in the BDSM community as spaces where multiple erotic possibilities are explored also means deciphering the statements linked to the rules of conduct which govern these spaces, regulate bodies, organize interactions and connect with the strategic games of power-resistance taking place therein. We begin at one of its most valued pillars, represented by the acronym "SSC" - Safe, Sane and Consensual. The SSC is commonly presented as the guiding principle of contemporary BDSM, reinforced by practitioners in order to guarantee the legitimacy of the practices carried out through the requirement of a minimum criteria of safety, sanity and consent between partners.

> **Ariel**: The SSC is a foundation, a pillar of BDSM, I always say that. It's what keeps us out of the asylum, it's the only thing, the SSC. If you violate the SSC and I want to commit you, I'll find a way. If you constantly violate [...] you will end up in an asylum or in jail - you're committing a crime.

The SSC can be interpreted as a statement of lawfulness, seeking to protect and legitimize contemporary BDSM, acting as a filter separating it from crime and sexual paraphilias classified in Psychiatry manuals, such as the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders [DSM- 5] (2014). Thus, from an enunciative point of view, the SSC principle represents more than a rule of conduct in the BDSM community, it is an essential statement to feed counter-discourses (Foucault, 2008) at the heart of the practicing community, and use them to counter, for example, the normalizing discourses of Medicine and Law. The statement of lawfulness generates and substantiates a different relationship with the truth for the practicing subjects, weaponizing their resistance practices in relation to the normalization of their sexuality. Thus, once covered by the SSC, BDSM practices detach themselves from the criminal conduct as found in Brazilian Penal Code (Código Penal) (2017) and from the sexual pathologies already referenced.

Inherent to the SSC, there are also recurring references to the "safe-word" or "safe gesture" mechanism – a signal agreed upon between the practicing parties and activated, through a spoken word or gesture performed by the submissive, in order to interrupt the practice performed in case the submissive participant reaches their physical or psychological limit or feels uncomfortable. In this sense, the word or gesture emerge as a strategic element employed in the power relations established between BDSM practitioners, since the submissive is empowered as a subject by means of this mechanism, as they hold the final word and control of the acceptable limits for each session. This makes it possible for the scene performed by the subjects to remain at the level of an enactment of a power play, as pointed out by Foucault (2004a).

Another mechanism connected to the SSC principle is the aftercare – characterized by physical and emotional care provided to the submissive after a scene or session - which is also seen as an important part of the dynamics between the dominant and the submissive participant, and a standard of conduct.

> **Ares**: Aftercare is very important, it's the basis of "Consensual". If you take a person and [...] mistreat them, treat them badly, humiliate them - beat them to the point of hurting, and then don't take care of them, maybe you won't see them again. So, aftercare is a way to keep a partner with you. Why? The sub acknowledges that they are part of a game, the sub belongs to the dom, they give the dom the right. But the dom should recognize the value of this surrender. So, after the session they might say: "look, we had the session, it was very good. Now I'm going to be good to you, because I want to play with you like that again". Which is not the same as apologizing, see? The dom doesn't regret what he's done. But he takes care of the consequences of what he did.

Considered the final element of the scene/session, aftercare represents retribution for and recognition of the surrender of the bottom/submissive; but it is also observed as a rule of conduct for the dominant part, who must assume responsibility for their performed practices. Also worth mentioning are the dynamics of power established between bodies during and following fetishistic practices, which may oscillate in a regime of appropriation, from the dominator's possession of - and infliction of pain upon - the body of the other, to the marked body of the submissive, at the end of the session, as a signatory of care of the self and of the other (Foucault, 1993). In the previous excerpt, it is possible to observe the link between aftercare and SSC, in which the dimension of "Consensual" is transmuted into a statement of communion, translated by the reciprocity between practitioners and contributing to reinforce the effect of truth and substantiality of the principles of "Safe, Sane, Consensual" in the practices of erotic BDSM.

On the regime of bodies in the context of BDSM, it is worth highlighting the play of light and shadow, the concealment and exhibition which delineates spaces and regulates bodies in these environments. This regime is justified in the fact that most practitioners transit between everyday "vanilla" life and a hidden BDSM persona. According to Foucault, this duality makes way for the complex web of power relations in which practitioners' subject positions (for example: professional, Christian, father, mother, fetishist) demand the satisfaction of a diffuse and conflicting set of conditions and requirements to enunciate themselves. Thus, there is a strategic shift towards taking up a position as a fetishistic subject, in order, as far as possible, to temporarily keep such position distant from other dimensions of the subject's life. This directly reflects on the nature of the venues of the events, whose organizers prioritize holding in anonymous spaces of less visibility, away from the city center, in order to obtain a maximum of discretion, and to keep the bodies that inhabit them hidden.

> The place of the party was not even identified by a sign or poster to begin with, there was a simple storefront door - the metal ones that slide up - hiding another door, this one made of wood, opening to the inside environment; I believe this demonstrates the discrete and secretive nature of the community in general. (Field diary – 1st visit).

Inside, the spaces dedicated to BDSM allow bodies to carry out their transmutations and engage in dissident practices, where subjects in their various roles may make use of a number of props, accessories and clothing, as well as varying techniques. In general, a majority of white, heterosexual bodies visibly in line with societal aesthetic standards is observed. To conduct the shift from their everyday to their fetishistic position, subjects resort to face masks (gas masks, cat masks, dog masks, leather masks, etc.); clothing such as the catsuit/full bodysuit (covering the entire body in leather or latex); the whole dressing up in women's clothing, wigs, boots, etc., in the case of the so-called Sissies (men who usually dress as women); or the use of a number of other outfits, all of which facilitate the transition of bodies from their socially established position in everyday "vanilla" life, to the position they take on as subjects in BDSM life.

I have only recently noticed the division between exhibitionists and voyeurs. There are people who really enjoy showing off and showing off their subs at parties, but this doesn't apply to everyone. Soon, several practitioners were doing various things in open spaces, or in the dark room, or on the "edges" of the party, such as a Dom teaching tying techniques, Jhuh and Igg performing their usual practices (I've seen him naked so many times it's no different from seeing him fully clothed, to be honest) even with the iron cage that was there, using it as a component of their scene [...] Other people used the spanking bench and yet others, like Domme Leona and another Domme, whom I don't know personally, played with their subs, as they normally do. Moreover, I noticed that the discreet nature of the *mineiro* [person native to the state of Minas Gerais] – if such discretion can be attributed just to *mineirice* [behavior of a *mineiro*] – is deep-rooted in these show/hide dynamics, this game that accompanies the play of lighting of the event, sometimes casting shadows, sometimes illuminating what's happening, sometimes hiding faces and bodies, sometimes showing them without modesty (Field diary - SM *Culture* event).

> Ariel was dressed up in her own outfit. High-heeled boots, catsuit, vinyl skirt, leather mask covering her face, the whole thing. A completely different person. I finally got to witness the sadistic Ariel that I had heard so much about. [...] I noticed, this time more attentively, the significance of the outfits used, as people really tend to dress according to their intended roles at the party. For example, it was only with the presence of Ariel that I realized the importance of the full bodysuit as an indication of intent and purpose. She was dressed up to play, dressed to be mean. To de-emphasize her masculine physiognomy, incorporate a female identity and thus be able to play the way she wanted. (Field diary - *Nosso Encontro* event)

The previous excerpts point to the great variety of practices that exist in the BDSM universe. Clothes characterize a position of subject, accentuate intention and purpose and communicate their "place"/hierarchical status. Based on the Foucauldian notion that statements are manifested not only through text or words but also through "a graph, a growth curve, an age pyramid, a distribution cloud" (Foucault, 2008, p. 93), it is possible to identify a body-statement, consolidated in the clothing and accessories associated with a fetishist practice that is interlinked with the self-

constitution process of BDSM-practicing subjects. Thus, the excerpts above show that the body of submissive "Igg", naked, exposed, subjugated and imprisoned in an iron cage is enunciating itself, just like the body of "Ariel", covered in leather, masked and transformed for the purpose of dominating and/or inflicting pain.

However, it is worth considering that, despite their importance, spaces and props do not represent the root of BDSM practices, but only the means to incorporate and enunciate them through bodies. To put it differently, the best translator for the ethos of BDSM would be the truth value given to the rules of conduct that are present in interactions. For some, this entire body of statements points to "Liturgy".

> **Leona**: The Liturgy is one of the most debated topics in BDSM. Because a beginner will usually say [...] "oh, the Liturgy, this stuff is just silly, it's ridiculous" – but you know, the Liturgy is what makes the game real! [...] BDSM is a game, you know? It's a game where you - where someone empowers someone else to do what they want to them. That's the reality of it. [...] So what makes the game real? It's the rules, the ways, the behavior, it's what you're going to say [...] BDSM is that. It's a game. Let's play, let's play using the Liturgy, which is what makes the game real. (Event: *Tertúlia: Introduction to BDSM*)

In this sense, the Liturgy, or the liturgical statements, materialize as knowledge, a starting point for discourse, a lexicon of truth, which establishes the rules and framework for the strategic game of power-knowledge-resistance in the dynamics of BDSM. The liturgical statements not only structure and organize the staging of power games, but also act as fabric, seeking to join the broad and diffuse set of practices grouped by the acronym BDSM into a reasonably coherent whole. Such an operation is fundamental for the intelligibility and sustainability of the notion of a "BDSM community", allowing the practicing subjects to come together and collectively resist the imposition of the hegemonic sexual matrix.

Reports from practitioners indicate that, based on the Liturgy, contracts between dominator and submissive are usually signed and sometimes even registered with a public notary. The process of entering into the contract includes conversation about fetishes, behaviors to be adopted, what each party expects from the relationship, the negotiation of limits, and, finally, the signing of the contract. Regarding this topic, interviewees also refer to "collaring ceremonies".

> ***Mr. Green***: You understand that the contract has no legal value, right? But I believe it will carry some weight if you are accused of a Maria da Penha offense[1] - and although it is of no real legal value, it will show that an agreement was made and signed and so on. Negotiations begin before the contract, because for me, signing the contract ends negotiations. Did we agree on everything? Let's sign it. [...] It's very a ceremonial thing - there's the contract, the collaring ceremony, you know?

[1] T.N.: Brazilian Federal Law 11340, classifies domestic violence against women as a human rights violation and provides measures of protection for women under threat of aggression.

Andressa Carolina do Nascimento Nunes | Rafael Diogo Pereira

Q: I heard.

Mr. Green: Beautiful! Do you know what the collars mean?

Q: Only vaguely.

Mr. Green: You have a commitment collar, a negotiation collar, and there's a colored one, blue I think, which means that the wearer is not the Sub, but is under that Dom's protection. You've got a collar for social occasions, and you've got an ordinary leash collar...

Q: And it's all part of the Liturgy...

Mr. Green: Yes, it's all part of the Liturgy! And someone who's in the know will be able to identify…for example: "okay, that sub is wearing this or that collar around her neck, so I don't get close." To get to them, I have to see the Dom first... So, after all this negotiating is done, the sub will sign this contract. There are people who even register their contract at a public notary. [...] It has powerful significance, both moral and ceremonial.

In the previous excerpt, initially, the "collaring contract" is presented as a safeguarding mechanism, similarly to the SSC, as it represents a formal instrument which legitimizes the practices freely agreed upon between subjects. Simultaneously, the collar is a statement of possession, a material manifestation of the feeling of ownership on the part of the dominator as it pertains to the body of the submissive. Thus, the presence of the collar on the neck of the submissive enunciates itself, demanding from other practitioners the adoption of a specific conduct in relation to both the submissive and their dominator. However, liturgical statements and the practices supporting them do not guarantee that the negotiation process is always simple or tension-free, as it becomes clear in the following report:

Q: Have you ever been through a negotiation process?

Natasha: I have.

Q: How was it?

Natasha: Ah, some were total nonsense. Like, I talked to a Dom – he's known in the scene, but I for obvious reasons I won't mention his name [...] anyway, we sit down and he says: "look, if you accept being mine, you're going to have to remove all of your piercings, you're going to have to dye your hair, and about those tattoos you have, you won't be able to have any more". I said: "Cool, see you later and thank you very much!", because there are limits to what I'll let someone else control.

From a Foucauldian perspective, the negotiation process reveals itself as a strategic game of power-resistance in which, at all times, practitioners employ discursive strategies to position themselves in order obtain what they want, set their limits, to get concessions and exchanges. It is a dispute which reaches the personal limits of each party. Therefore, the statement of possession

takes on different forms depending on what is agreed upon. At the level of power relations between practitioners, the signing of a contract and its very existence affirm an agreement between equal parties, equalizing, if for a moment, the positions of the subjects. While on the other hand, from the point of fetishistic practices of role-playing, the "collaring ceremony" represents the surrender of the body of the submissive to their new owner, in acceptance of their almost animalistic and objectified abasement in front of the rising dominant.

Another issue that deserves to be highlighted is the potential for disruption of the BDSM environment in relation to dominant social standards and the hegemonic heterosexual matrix. Although the signing of contracts allows a dominator to have more than one submissive, in some cases it was observed that a monogamous model was reproduced in mutual exclusivity agreements between subjects. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, it was possible to identify a white, heterosexual majority, and bodies in line with aesthetic standards. Other elements were also identified in the reports, as explained below.

> **Dom L**: Look, my views are a little different. The Brazilian scene is very sexist compared to the European scene. It is homophobic, which is kind of a contradiction, given that the scene has origins in the gay leather fetish scene. […] it seems that if you spank a man at an event here, that means you're gay and they'll try to put you down.

In the previous excerpt, the interviewee relates the presence of homophobia and sexism in Brazilian BDSM communities. The report alludes to a whole entanglement of political issues rooted in the heteronormative matrix of society that put into question, at least in part, the BDSM community as a space of discursive and normative rupture. It shows how the play of differences operated by the vanilla life/BDSM life separation can be problematized, and how practicing subjects may bring with them a certain degree of internalization of this heteronormative matrix into the community. This is to show that some ruptures from the norm, although possible, do not occur during the constitution process of a BDSM subject.

On the other hand, reports were also collected about experiences within the scope of BDSM that led the subjects to experience or create new modes of existence.

> With [Fernanda] our conversation turned more towards getting to know each other. Like others, I heard her say: "I felt a desire in me that I didn't have a name for, until I discovered BDSM." (Field Diary – Event: *Tertúlia: Bondage*)

> *Q: Is it fair to say that BDSM has to do with liberation?*
> **Natasha:** That question is difficult. It's hard to put it into words - it's liberating, you know? In the community, I feel like I can be myself in a more, I don't know...
> *Q: In a more complete way?*

> **Natasha**: Not complete, in the most basic sense. Because, like it or not, in life in the vanilla world, we wear many masks. But not here, here you can be yourself, you don't have to be so-and-so who works at so-and-so, you use a name that isn't necessarily your real name [...] So it is a freedom, for me BDSM is a freedom.

> **Ariel:** Inevitably, BDSM proposes a constant breaking of taboos. Many taboos that we aren't even aware of, within our own sexuality. [...] BDSM made me look for taboos to break. [...] and then one time I met a certain person, there was so much sensitivity, attention, affection, love, so much delicacy, that I could not see a sex in this person. And that made me see that people don't have a sex. That's my biggest taboo break to date [...] transcending sexes.

The reports presented show statements of liberation by the interviewees, exalting the BDSM community as an enhancer of the experience of sexual possibilities, of making use of bodies and deriving pleasure in less restrictive ways, as a place where one doesn't feel ashamed of one's manifested desires and fetishes. At the same time, they justify the existence of the community and its practices, reinforcing its status of dissidence and opposition to the heteronormative matrix, producing subjects and spaces. This points back to Foucault (2004a), who affirms sexuality as part of our individual conduct and freedom, and how through our sexuality and desires, new forms of relationships and new modes of existence may be established. More than that, for some practitioners, BDSM is a space of resistance and self-constitution, in which they manage to expand their personal freedom, even if only temporarily, to be who they wish to be, relating to the truths that best characterize them. Thus, they develop, from within the BDSM community, a set of techniques of the self (Foucault, 1993), which contrast with the dominant regime of truth that is instilled in them in "vanilla" life, normalizing their bodies.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article sought to analyze how the power relations that govern bodies and conduct are configured in the context of erotic BDSM practiced in the capital of Minas Gerais. It was possible to show how the BDSM community encompasses a set of practices and a network of relationships that are not separated from the device of sexuality as defined by Foucault (2011), but totally imbricated in it. These are bodies that live between light and shadow, in transition between their everyday lives and their fetishistic experiences.

It is essential to emphasize that the objective of this study was not to romanticize the existence of a marginalized group in society, painting a beautiful picture of resistance to the dominant discourses that stigmatize and exclude them, or even to condemn them in their practices and behaviors, by use of scientific discourse which associate their behavior with paraphilia or crime. On the contrary, this study aimed to insert the community in the field of power-resistance

relations, distant from the logic of oppressor versus oppressed, and closer to the strategic game of knowledge-power-sexuality in which the community as a whole is inserted, as it pertains to power relations that produce both interdictions and exclusions, as well as subjects and truths.

What did emerge was a determined, situated and contingent look at the BDSM community and the subjects that are part of it, evidencing the power relations and set of practices, accessories and rules of conduct which, together, represent an expressive movement of creation of new possibilities for the use of pleasures, experiences of sexuality and eroticism, driven by sexual, ethical and political choices. Thus, the multiple folds existing in the relational field of power in which the BDSM community of Belo Horizonte is inserted, became evident as we observed a varied set of resistances and ruptures which contrasts with the reproduction of certain elements clearly present in the dominant heteronormative matrix.

On one hand, it was possible to show the resistance of this community to the classification as perverse subjects. The resistance to the power effects of discourses that view the subjects and their practices as paraphilic, as ill, and therefore, as marginal to society. Resistance to the imposition of a hegemonic sexual norm that limits the use of pleasures and of their bodies as they see fit. Transgression of the idea of sexual pleasure reduced to genital stimulation, in contrast to the full eroticization of entire bodies from a variety of instruments and stimuli.

On the other hand, there are issues that signal less than total rupture from society's norms, even frank reproduction of patterns predominant in society was observed, as in the case of gender issues, monogamy and prejudice towards the sexual orientation of practitioners, as demonstrated by mentions of sexism and homophobia in the reports collected. The very principle of discretion that hides practice spaces and protects the everyday roles of its practitioners, contrasts with other movements such as the LGBTQIA+, whose political struggle demands continuous visibility and occupation of public spaces, and encompasses the social struggle for their rights. Thus, the pendular swinging between "vanilla" and "fetishistic" life, as expressed by the interviewed subjects, could be understood as more of an axis of differentiation between practitioners and non-practitioners than as an indication of a sharp breaking away from certain dominant regimes of truth. Such reflections point to the potential of future research that analyze issues of gender, race and social class within the context of the BDSM community.

With regards to Organizational Studies, this work contributes to the expansion of research loci by encompassing BDSM communities, as well as by encouraging that research be carried out on spaces occupied by "deviant" subjects, as organizational spaces linked with sexuality and which allow a look into the ways of life of subjects who belong to dissident sexualities, their forms of organization, struggle and resistance. Furthermore, we hope that this research will contribute to problematizing and broadening the debate on alternative forms of sexual expression outside of the heteronormative matrix and which are, at the same time, as inherent to social relationships as they are silenced and excluded from discussion. Ultimately, it is necessary to question the exclusionary and dominant moral code in our societies and to highlight alternative ways of creating modes of life which may make subjects' lives more fulfilling and contribute to the political field of social struggles, of which the expansion of sexual rights in Brazil is one.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

Andressa Carolina do Nascimento Nunes and Rafael Diogo Pereira worked on the conceptualization and theoretical-methodological approach. The theoretical review was conducted by Rafael Diogo Pereira. Data collection was coordinated by Andressa Carolina do Nascimento Nunes. Data analysis included Andressa Carolina do Nascimento Nunes and Rafael Diogo Pereira. Andressa Carolina do Nascimento Nunes and Rafael Diogo Pereira worked together in the writing and final revision of the manuscript.

FORUM

A DEFENSE OF THE EROGENOUS BODY IN ORGANIZATIONAL STUDIES

Em defesa da consideração do corpo erógeno nos Estudos Organizacionais

En defensa del cuerpo erógeno en los Estudios Organizacionales

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to contribute to the study of corporeality in the field of organizational studies from the perspective of the psychoanalytical notion of the erogenous body. Investigations into corporeality and the psychoanalytical framework exist in organizational studies, but there is also a lack of psychoanalytical contributions with specific regard to the body in this field. We demonstrate that this gap exists by revisiting the question of corporeality in organizational studies, starting from the rationalist origins of the kinship between anatomopathological medicine and the theory of organizations. We then present the psychoanalytical conceptualization of the erogenous body starting with its rupture from anatomopathological medicine. In conclusion, we present an extensive ethnographic study of the body in investment banks and discuss how the notion of the erogenous body can throw light on the impasses found in it.

Keywords: corporeality, psychoanalysis, erogenous body, organization, management.

RESUMO

Este artigo pretende contribuir com o estudo da corporalidade no campo dos Estudos Organizacionais a partir da noção psicanalítica de corpo erógeno. Existem investigações tanto sobre a corporalidade quanto de quadro psicanalítico no âmbito dos Estudos Organizacionais, mas há também uma lacuna a respeito das contribuições psicanalíticas especificamente sobre o corpo para esse campo. Demonstramos essa lacuna a partir de uma retomada da questão da corporalidade nos Estudos Organizacionais desde as origens racionalistas do parentesco entre medicina anatomopatológica e a teoria das organizações. Em seguida, apresentamos a conceituação psicanalítica de corpo erógeno desde uma ruptura com a medicina anatomopatológica. Por fim, retomamos um extenso estudo etnográfico sobre o corpo em bancos de investimento e discutimos como a noção de corpo erógeno pode iluminar os impasses nele presentes.

Palavras-chave: *corporeidade, psicanálise, corpo erógeno, organizações, gestão.*

RESUMEN

Nuestro objetivo es de contribuir con los estudios sobre corporalidad en el campo de los estudios organizacionales desde la noción psicanalítica de cuerpo erógeno. Hay investigaciones acerca de la corporalidad y también de cuadro psicoanalítico en los estudios organizacionales, pero hay también un vacío con respeto a las contribuciones psicoanalíticas específicamente sobre el cuerpo en ese campo. Presentamos ese vacío desde una recuperación de la cuestión de la corporalidad en los estudios organizacionales a partir de los orígenes racionalistas del parentesco entre la medicina anatomopatológica y la teoría de las organizaciones. A continuación, presentamos la conceptualización psicoanalítica de cuerpo erógeno desde una ruptura de la medicina anatomopatológica. Finalmente, examinamos una extensa etnografía acerca el cuerpo en bancas de inversión y discutimos cómo la noción de cuerpo erógeno puede aclarar los impasses presentes en él.

Palabras clave: *corporeidad, psicoanálisis, cuerpo erógeno, organización, administración.*

INTRODUCTION

The interest in examining the place of the body and the theme of embodiment in Organizational Studies began between the end of 1980s and the 1990s, when the field started to open to other theoretical perspectives that some classified as "post-modern", far away from traditional business interests (Dale, 2001). Since then, a series of investigations in the area started to become sensitive to the matters of the body, particularly linked to themes such as gender, diversity, emotion and expression of feelings, sex, gestures, and ornamentation (Flores-Pereira, 2010). Thus, from this moment on, we can affirm that a "small but steady stream of scholarship" (Hope, 2011 p. 138) emerged around the subject. We follow the translation suggested by Flores-Pereira, Davel and Almeida (2017), who, despite acknowledging that "the term *embodiment* hasn't been consensually translated to Portuguese, being used in different ways by Brazilian researchers" (p. 196), defend using the term as it is being used in Anthropology, reputed as the great resource of the revision of the cartesian conception of body.

However, there are few studies that approached it from Psychoanalysis. Since the 1990s, important works regarding the systematic presentation of the psychoanalytical approach to Organizational Studies were produced, such as Diamond (1993), Hirschorn and Barnett (1993), Obholzer and Roberts (1994), French and Vince (1999), Gabriel (1999) and Arnaud (2004). None of them, though, approached specifically the body from a psychoanalytical perspective. More recent works, such as Fotaki and Pullen (2019), used Psychoanalysis to think about questions specifically concerned to diversity and feminism. One could object that, following Dashtipour and Vidaillet (2020), the psychodynamics of work has been showing the centrality of the body in working and therefore in the functioning of organizations. But the founder of this field himself, Christophe Dejours, attests that the theory of the body from which such reflections are extracted is rather the one from Michel Henry (Dejours, 2012, v. 1). Thus, it seems to be few investigations that Thus, there seems to be a scarcity of investigations that specifically address the contributions of the psychoanalytic view of the body to Organizational Studies.

This article aims to contribute to the reversion of such scarcity resuming the psychoanalytical approach about the theme in question, subsumed in the notion of erogenous body. Flores-Pereira (2010) points out that four big approaches inform the reflections about embodiment in the field of Organizational Studies. We state that because of its singularity and potential to mitigate problems that ravage organizations today, the psychoanalytical approach could inaugurate a fifth line of investigation in this field. For that, first we will show how the idea of body was built in the studies about organizations and how they were finally able to address embodiment. Second, we will point out the absence of psychoanalytical considerations in Organizational Studies and the consequences of such absence. We will then recover the notion of erogenous body formulated by psychoanalysis, underlining the rupture provoked by it regarding the hegemonic conception of body built by the anatomopathological medicine. Lastly, we aim to indicate how, from a psychoanalytical review of the long ethnography of Michel (2011), the psychoanalytical approach can contribute to conceptual and methodological refining in Organizational Studies regarding embodiment and its impasses.

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ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY: FROM BIOLOGICAL BODY TO EMBODIMENT

As Karen Dale (2001) reveals in detailed fashion, the concept of organization dates to Enlightenment and is linked to the arising of both the anatomopathological medicine and the then new social and political institutions. The common ground to these knowledges was the imperative of knowledge production by means of categorizations and divisions – guideline that, indeed, denotes a central characteristic of the western modern knowledge. That way, both anatomy and the sociopolitical milieu of the Lights were guided by that line: such as the anatomopathology was born from ordering the body in its structures and functions, the enlightenment institutions were born from the bureaucratic ordering. It was in this "similar cognitive space" (Dale, 2001, p. 111) that the idea of organization was born.

Here is the reason that it was conceived as an organism. The word already indicates it: "organization" comes from "organ", which modern definition was erected from the studies of anatomy. Dale (2001) recovers the historical arch from Descartes to Bichat to sustain what she designates as "anatomising urge" (p. 23), that is, a certain requirement of the knowledge in operating by the decomposition of the world in smaller intelligible parts, by its classification and ordaining. The organizational theory, having conceived the organization as an organ along the lines of a biological line, originally took the organization "as a given" (Dale, 2001, p. 129), that is, a natural entity.

In addition to conceiving the organization in these, shall we say, somatic terms, such theory also offered a naturalized and therefore passive comprehension of the human body. Here again the weight of Cartesianism, and specially its ontological dualism, is evident, showing itself, as Dale (2001) remembers, even in terms and expressions of management that signalize the primacy of vision over the object and of the mind over the body ("supervisor", "head office", etc.). As Le Breton (2002) observers, Descartes' metaphysics has found its realization in the industrial world: "It is Taylor (and Ford) who actually fulfill the judgement implicitly pronounced by Descartes" (pp. 79-80). So, the body was taken by organizational theory, in its origins, as a tool of the mind and therefore as an object to be managed.

Therefore, it doesn't mean exactly that the body was absent from this theory, but that it figured as "an absent presence", as point out Hassard, Holliday and Wilmott (2000, p. 4). More specifically, the founders of the modern work organization analysis, namely Taylor and Weber, did not "*directly* considered the embodied quality of organizational work" (Hassard et al., 2000, p. 6, our emphasis). Now, in an organizational approach where impersonality, technicism and rationalization should figure as beacons for the authority figures, there was no place for any emphasis to the body. Its direct consideration would require a series of rearrangements of epistemological nature.

On the one hand, as observed Flores-Pereira (2010), important changes in the field of Social Sciences and Philosophy were responsible for the reconsideration of embodiment in Organizational Studies in the last decades of the 20th century. As we have pointed out, the author identified four lines of investigation about the body stemming out of these changes, and three

of them began to inform such reconsideration: a first line, that began with the anthropological investigations of Mauss, showed how the body represent the society that gives it shelter, what revealed its "sociocultural" face; a second line, that goes from Durkheim to Bourdieu, revealed the body as *locus* of hierarchization and classification of individuals, what carried its "socio-hierarchized" face; a third line, that becomes paradigmatic in the researches of Foucault, bring to light the social technologies responsible for making the bodies docile, what indicates its "sociopolitical" face. While crucial to the unlinking between body and biology, these three lines made it a "social object" (Flores-Pereira, 2010, p. 421). In this way, they could not free the body of an objectified and passivated conception. According to the author, it was only with a fourth line of study, derived from the phenomenological reflections, especially the ones from Merleau-Ponty, that it was possible to "rescue the incorporated dimension of the sociocultural environment" (Flores-Pereira, 2010, p. 422), that is, that came the understanding that the person doesn't inhabit the body but is herself the body.

So, the impact provoked by these four lines of study identified by Flores-Pereira (2010) was of metaphysical order. The author presents an overview of the multiplicity of inquiries that were the result of such deconstruction, but we would like to stress out that, fundamentally, what was achieved was the removal from the Organizational Studies the ontological moat, erected since Descartes, between mind and body. This way, the achievement of such inquiries was de conception of "an embodied person" (p. 428), that is, a person in whom mind and body form an indistinct whole.

On the other hand, as Souza, Costa and Pereira (2015) point out, the Organizational Studies themselves started do contribute to the inquiry of embodiment from the moment they reconsidered their object. Since the advent of understanding the organization no more like structure, but as the exact opposite – process or organizing, that is, transmissions of mutable events –, it was not possible anymore to account for it in the traditional, that is, positivistic and functionalistic, way. Since this changed has determined that "the organizational studies have as object of analysis the ordering processes, not enterprises" (Souza et al., 2015, p. 732), everything that was of this nature was of interest for the field. Since body is "performance – non-inert, active, particular, subjective, contingent and historical […]" (p. 734), that is, "it is not a thing or a substance, but the continuous creation of events or happenings […]" (p. 735), it undoubtedly figures among the objects of research of Organizational Studies. As seen, the reconfiguration verified in this field allowed that it also began to contribute to the inquiring of embodiment.

Since then, various fronts of research were developed in these studies. Gärtner (2013) made a survey of the works about embodiment, cognition and learning published since 1990 and found six approaches. Briefly, in the first one (*Brute embodiment*), the body is conceived as a hardware and the mind as a software, which represents the popularization of the cognitive-computational view in Organizational Studies; in the second (*Physiological embodiment*), it is emphasized the importance of neural activity and of physiology in the functioning of the body; in the third (*Enactive lived embodiment*), the role of the sensorimotor body in the tacit acquisition of knowledge is underlined; in the fourth (*Intelligible embodiment*), it is explored how much the bodily experiences model the acquisition of knowledge; in the fifth, (*Situated embodiment*),

it is stressed the importance of the body in situating the process of acquisition of knowledge in time and space, in here and now; finally, in a sixth (*Social embodiment*), the objective is to show the relationship between social structures and body. A survey like this indicates both the diffusion of embodiment as a theme in Organizational Studies and the plurality of forms in which it has been developed.

About the absence of psychoanalytical considerations concerning the body in Organizational Studies

Reading the briefly resumed trajectory introducing the theme of embodiment above, one can already notice the absence the psychoanalytical approach. On the one hand, as indicated, this approach in general has been present in Organizational Studies. So that we don't stick just with the classical studies listed before, it should be stressed that the interlocution with Psychoanalysis is in the making, approaching conceptions beyond the classical Freudian ones, such as those from Lacan (Paes & Dellagnelo, 2015) and the Frankfurt School (Paula, 2013), and more specific organizational aspects in light of psychoanalytical theory, such as leadership (Godoi, Cargnin, & Uchôa, 2017). This recent interlocution, on the other hand, still lacks the resuming of the psychoanalytical approach of the body.

Repairing this absence is necessary above all because Psychoanalysis brings an approach capable of understanding and inquiring the strong presence of the somatic plan in contemporary pathologies, related or not to work. As Fernandes (2003) attests, the so-called contemporary symptoms carry to the center specially the body and its submission to:

> the abounding and varying eating disorders, the compulsion to work, to physical activities, the never-ending surgical interventions to model the body, the compulsive sexuality, the horror of ageing, the demand of action, the terror of passivity, the psychopathological search of health or, in contrary, a pathological forgetting of the body, and still the variety of somatization conditions. Symptoms that […] denote the complete submission of the body. (p. 17).

Regarding the work-related illnesses, those that are in ascension since the post-Fordism consolidation, which brought precariousness to the world of work in different levels (Franco, Druck, & Seligmann-Silva, 2010), present body events in a, at the same time, enigmatic and alarming way: "depressive conditions; Burnout; Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); dependence on alcohol and other substances (illegal drugs and psychotropics)" (Franco et al., 2010, p. 239). In addition to being a public health issue, these illnesses generate fabulous losses to organizations (Pfeffer, 2018).

Organizational Studies need a notional arsenal to follow this huge problem. Despite the great reason in a practical level of the admission of embodiment in the field in question being

precisely the profound capture (with the advent of the post-Fordist work organization) of who works at the level of the body, attention was given overall the representational and intellectual aspects of the phenomenon. As Kerfoot (2000) indicated, "the need for managers themselves to be attentive to the body and aware of its perception by others is perhaps as never before, and where *the gaze of the 'other' in organizations is intensified by discourses of managerialism*" (p. 231, our emphasis). A series of authors in the field in question thematized this reconfiguration and the harmful effects of what became known as managerialism or managerial on the post-Fordist or Toyotist subjectivity – for example, Faria and Meneghetti (2007), Gaulejac (2007), Kilkauer (2013) e Clegg (2014). None of them, however, seems to have given specific attention to the body and to the way the post-Fordist organizations submits it.

Let's take the Faria and Meneghetti (2007) perspective, because of huge relevance and diffusion it has on Brazilian Organizational Studies. The authors designate what they name "sequestration of subjectivity", verified with the ascension of Toyotism and that

> consists in the fact that [this ascension] take ownership, in a planned way, through programs in people management, and surreptitiously, furtively, covertly, of the *conception of reality* that integrates the dominion of *psychic, emotional and affective activities* of individual or collective subjects that compose it (workers, employees). These activities form the *base of perception and representation* that allows the subjects to *interpret the concrete by the way of thought and act*. The sequestration of perception and subjective elaboration deprives the subjects of their freedom to take ownership of reality and to elaborate, organize and systematize their own knowledge, being at the mercy of the knowledge and the values produced and fed by the sequestering organization. (p. 52, our emphasis).

We notice how, despite underlining the wide range of the subjects' activities (psychic, emotional and affective) determined by such sequestration, the author don't highlight the somatic plan. They stay in an intellectual plan, focusing the dimensions of thought, interpretation, perception. We could then conclude that a sequestration of the body is not thematized. With this we don't want in anyway suggest that there is opposition between body and subjectivity or that the authors' construct is of no help to think the forms of submission in Toyotism. After all, as they stress, "the individual's subjectivity is not only in his or her consciousness, but also in the circulation where mind, affects, body, bonds, work, home and the others participate […] (p. 50). Anyway, they make clear that Toyotism presents "*a formal-intellectual subordination*" (p. 62, our emphasis), not a bodily one as in the Fordism.

Well, the clinical and epidemiological data indicated above makes us conclude that is at least risky to suppose such a "formal-intellectual" primacy. Below we have selected a long ethnography, made in an organization with more-than-typical post-Fordist characteristics – an investment bank – in order to show how the capture of work organization is done at the level of the body. However, before that we must resume the question of the body within the psychoanalytic frame of reference.

Psychoanalysis: from biological body to erogenous body

Such question has always posed itself in a significant way to Psychoanalysis, which theoretical development is followed by changes in the role that this notion plays in its theoretical building (Cukiert & Priszkulnik, 2000).

The relationship thar Freud establishes with the body is nonetheless, at least in a first moment, dubious. While he perceives that hysteria had no organic cause and that, therefore, the traditional medical knowledge, grounded in certain deterministic organicist assumptions regarding illnesses, didn't give him nor an etiological hypothesis nor an adequate treatment, Freud had in mind some scientific basis for Psychoanalysis. This basis was looked for from biological and physiological bases for his psychological proposals (Freud, 1995). The rupture with this ideal of scientificity will culminate with the refusal of this medical model of diagnosis, treatment and pure and simple organicity, giving place to the psychic, always from the study of hysteria. It is interesting to cross the development of the Freudian theory about the body with the abandonment by Freud first of Charcot's hypnotic method and, later, of Breuer's cathartic method. It is from the determination of the unconscious' laws that he will search for techniques to interpret it.

Freud studied at the Salpêtrière, where he got in touch with Charcot who, with hypnosis and suggestion, made symptoms appear and disappear just from talk. The subjacent hypothesis to this practice is that there is an instance of thought that is not the conscious one. Here is a first rupture with the organic: to Freud, repressed sexual "ideas" could cause symptomatic effects in the body – the conversion mechanism – and these symptoms could be treated from a talk therapy – catharsis and abreaction.

Freud states that anxiety attacks' manifestation can be linked to the "disorder of one or more body functions – such as breathing, cardiac activity, vasomotor innervation and glandular activity" (Freud, 1974a, p. 111). It seems to be a direct relationship, then, between the anxiety manifestation and the body, even if at this moment just the organic functions of the body affected by psychological states are in question, without any reference to a "erogenous" body.

If the somatic disorders relate to the disturbances of the body's organic functions, even so it is already away from a conception that takes it as purely a biological organism, pointing to a subtle and delicate interaction between mental and somatic by means of conversion mechanisms. As Fernandes (2003) says:

> if the body that Freud's theoretical building announces is not to be confounded with the biological organism, object of study and intervention by medicine, it presents itself at the same time as a stage where the complex game of relationships between psychic and somatic plays out and a character taking part in the plot of these relationships. (p. 55).

In the *Studies on hysteria* (Breuer & Freud, 1974) the case of Anna O. is established as the founding myth of the discipline, even though it was treated and described by Breuer. A summary of the case: Anna O. presented paraphasia, strabismus and other grave disturbances of vision,

various paralysis in the upper right part and the inferior extremities of the body as well as in the neck, besides cough, headaches, and an affection of the trochlear nerve (Breuer & Freud, 1974, pp. 64-66). The first example of the cathartic method's success is narrated by Breuer – the patient was mute; the inhibition happened because of an offense taken by her as a very serious one and, once it was recalled under hypnosis, she started to speak again. Her contracture in the right arm was related to a hallucination while taking care of her father, when she tried to scare away with her right hand the "snake" that was sleeping on the backrest of the bed and didn't answer to her intentions. There was then the association between the hallucination of the snake and the arm's paralysis and analgesia. She tried to pray, but she only remembered a pray in English – and since then only communicated in this language, not even understanding German, her mother tongue. The case also presented temporal splitting of the consciousness, when she revived exactly the day lived one year before; there were also *absences*, during which various symptoms also appeared. According to Breuer, these secondary states had great influence over the symptom formation, since its products, given the fragile state of the patient, started to force its entrance upon consciousness.

In this moment, we are in the beginnings of Psychoanalysis, with a therapeutic practice that resorts to hypnosis to make the hysterical symptoms disappear. Freud employs the cathartic method such as proposed by Breuer. Behind the practice of hypnosis and the cathartic method underlies the phenomenon of suggestion, based in the existence of conscious states besides vigil and sleep.

The theory behind cathartic method stated that every hysterical phenomenon had its origins in a trauma, an emotive manifestation of great intensity; however, the causal link between the hysterical symptom and the trauma that triggered it many times scaped the consciousness of the patient, what made any questioning by the doctor fruitless. If the doctor could bring the memory of trauma up and the emotion was revived, even if in another state of consciousness, the symptom in question would disappear.

With this new way of accounting for hysteria it was possible that a nervous illness had a psychic origin – that is, a psychic trauma engendered a somatic manifestation. It is the revival of this emotion and the situation that caused it, put into words, that founds the efficiency of cathartic method. The authors say:

> The person's aggravated reaction to the trauma only exerts an entirely "cathartic" effect if it is an adequate reaction – for example, revenge. But language serves as substitute for the action; with its help, an emotion can be "abreacted" almost with the same efficiency. (Breuer & Freud, 1974, p. 49).

Here it is, the birth of the so-called "erogenous body", eroticizable, beyond organic, biological, and somatic: the talk therapy operates from a dimension of representation of the body, a metaphoric body. The origin of the hysterical symptom of conversion is not random neither is reduced to anatomy but is intrinsically related to the lived traumatic situation. For example, in the case of Elisabeth von R., described by Freud, one of the symptoms presented

by the patient was pain in a specific part of the leg, without an organic affection being present. During the cathartic treatment carried under hypnosis, a memory was brought up that it was in that point that the ill father's leg leaned on during the change of bandages, change that was made by the patient herself.

In his theoretical articulation about the body, the concept of drive (*Trieb*) is paramount: it stands "in the frontier between the mental and the somatic, as the psychic representation of the stimuli that originate inside the organism" (Freud, 1915/2010, p. 55); and its source is a somatic process that is represented in the psyche by the drive. There is a plan where organic and psychic are not opposites. For Psychoanalysis, the body must be thought beyond an organic model of symptoms causality. It is only from its conceptualization beyond the biological that the "talk therapy" may make sense as theoretical conceptualization. It is no longer possible to confound embodiment with organicity. To Fernandes (2003), beginning with the concept of drive, "the Freudian theory would allow to highlight that the somatic, that is, the set of organic functions in movement, inhabits a body that is also the place of fulfillment of an unconscious desire" (p. 34).

Notwithstanding the body's central position for Psychoanalysis, according to Nasio (2009) Freud never used the expression "image of the body", an expression that entered Psychoanalysis only in the last decades of the 20th century. To Nasio, from the point of view of the image, the ego designates a mental double formed by the set of alive and poignant bodily sensations. The ego would be at the same time an identity (naming the self of a subject), a perceptive (the boundary of the psychic between external and pulsional realities) and an imaginary instance. He is clearly based in the explicit Freudian statement: "the ego is first of all a bodily ego" (Freud, 1974b, p. 40).

On the need to include the erogenous body in Organizational Studies: example of contribution from a psychoanalytical analysis of an ethnographic study

Resuming what we announced in the beginning, despite the four lines of inquiry presented by Flores-Pereira (2010) having franked the Organizational Studies the aforementioned huge conquest, thus it looks like it still lacks to them the consideration of a fifth line of inquiring: the erogenous body, in the way presented above and conceptualized by Psychoanalysis.

It is worth mentioning that Psychoanalysis doesn't attack rationality but the illusion of control (Gabriel, 1999). Thus, the classical comparison of Philip Rieff according to which Psychoanalysis is "a regime of mental management […] in which the ego plays functions not so different from the managers' ones" (Gabriel, 1999, p. 284) is wrong. Nevertheless, if one still wanted to understand the analytical knowledge in these terms, then it would be an ego that "faces constantly forces much bigger than his" (p. 285). Freud uncompromisingly defended the scientific status of Psychoanalysis, sharing widely the western canons of rationality. However, he stressed that in front of the unconscious it is only possible to create certain regions of order that are always subjected to disorder. Gabriel (1999) shows that there lies an important lesson to

management: "the hybris of management resides in pretending that Fortune doesn't exist or that she can be persuaded and placated by servility" (p. 286).

The long ethnographic study accomplished by Michel (2011) in two investment banks helps us show and understand this field of questions. Her study impresses both by duration (nine year, even though she states that it as ongoing study. The author resumes these questions in at least two later moments [Michel, 2014, 2015], without adding new material for what interests us here) and by the observed, collected and analyzed material (approximately 7 thousand hours of observation, more than 600 formal interviews, 200 informal interviews in addition to the annual productivity reports of the bankers involved in the study and bank material about selection, training, and socialization – pp. 334-335). It is certain that the author experienced the results she presents in her own body: having worked first in a German bank as an intern and later as analyst in Goldman Sachs, where she endured journeys of 80 to 100 hours a week, she describes the estrangement with her own experience (Michel, 2016) in changing from a culture to another and also how this previous experience opened her the doors that allowed the accomplishment of the study.

From the realization that the so-called workers of knowledge, the category under which fall the observed investment bankers, state having autonomy regarding when and where they work but present longer and more uniform working hours than a personal choice model would indicate (Michel, 2011, p. 326), the author presents what she considers to be a paradox: where the workers indicate to have autonomy to do their own schedules and manage their workloads, they find themselves under organizational controls that make them work more, for long periods, during nights, holidays and weekends.

Here we have a first aspect that we should highlight: the dimension of an ignorance about what seems to be more controllable to the workers. They judge themselves to be autonomous but are not and it is their own bodies that show them. It is an illustration for what we designated above as the point of view blurred by the statue of the body. It is important to point out this aspect because it is not acknowledged by who work and it is not emphasized, it seems, by any of the four lines of inquiry presented by Flores-Pereira (2010). This way, as much as embodiment has been acknowledged, it is still needed to show that it is not usually acknowledged. This is exactly the point emphasized by the psychoanalytical approach of the body, that always stresses the unconscious, phantasized and idealized dimension.

The second aspect to be highlighted is the ignorance expressed in the way how the author herself goes through the most current explanations about workers' engagement. She resumes the literature about motivation, which points that the workers "work hard for firms that satisfy autonomy and thus increase intrinsic motivation" (Michel, 2011, p. 327) of these individuals, and highlights that some of the conditions present in those environments reassemble those used in the Psychology labs to diminish autonomy and intrinsic motivation, such as high pressure and short deadlines. Then she resumes the cognitive theories about control that explain more adequately why the works of knowledge work so hard but fail to address the so-called "autonomy paradox". This leads her to resort to the socializing approaches, that focus in the acculturation

processes. It is when the authors' assumptions appear clearly: "[Socialization] ensues when employees accept a firm's culture. Organizations *target employees' minds*. […] Workers thus exert themselves on a firm's behalf even without external control" (p. 327, our emphasis). We are not astonished that, under this approach, it is still "unclear why workers experience effort as self-chosen, versus submission to a collectively designed culture" (p. 327). There is an assumption that there is an undivided subject. That's why what is obtained is designated as a paradox. At the same time a dualist point of view is surreptitiously hold: "The answer may be that some controls are not cognitive but bypass the mind—the domain of cognitive control theories—and target a neglected domain: the body" (p. 327).

At this point it seems pertinent to resume the question of the body as conceptualized by Psychoanalysis. As Fernandes (2003) states:

> Well, if the body appears as a place, stage where the relationships between psychic and somatic play out, this is equivalent to saying that Freud produces here an important rupture in the conception of body distinguishing it from the somatic, that is, in Freud the body doesn't confound with the biological organism. […] the body in Freud is not governed according to a unique and determined rationality, the somatic rationality. It is governed according to a double rationality, that from the somatic and that from the psychic. (p. 112).

Thus, it is not possible to take the body in consideration as a separated dominion. Insisting in a model based on an ontological distinction, illustrated by the difference between bodily controls and mental or cognitive controls, makes a dichotomy of cartesian inspiration last. This dichotomy, we presented, has its origins in a rationalism that is questioned and criticized by the field of Organizational Studies itself or at least by one of its strands.

Given that these "embodied controls" are not visible, their influence is only indirect on perception of autonomy reported by employees and, taking into account the time needed to the body to "break", "wear" or "fail", the relationship between embodied controls and illness bay have been ignored by literature simply because observational studies don't last long enough so that these data appeared. In this sense, once more the notion of erogenous body allows us to see another possible answer. As Fernandes (2007) states: "it is observed a constant imperative of immediate overcoming of all suffering, as if the scars of the pains of life couldn't find a psychic inscription anymore, getting destined to a bodily inscription" (p. 342). What appears, then, is the erogenous body's representational character, the last refuge for that that escapes the mental controls instilled by socialization in the model proposed by Michel (2011). She highlights, still, that organizational research about the body "are rare" and "often takes a realist "physiological lens", which assumes that the body is a biological object" (Michel, 2011, p. 331). To fulfill this theoretical gap, she presents a model of the relationship between the observed subjects with their own bodies, from the embodied organizational control point of view and its consequences both for the subjects and for the organizations. This model predicts three distinct moments:

The body as object: in this first moment, between years 1 and 3, the body is understood as an object that the mind can control. They worked long hours, neglected family and hobbies, and fought their body's needs in order to enhance productivity. They suppressed the need for prolonged sleep […]. They ignored illnesses and did not give priority to their health" (p. 340). According to the banks' annual reviews, the subjects presented high technical and judgement performance. The also high organizational control over the subjects, even though not perceived, presented positive results to the organization.

Year 4 onwards: the body as antagonist. "Starting in year 4, bodies forced themselves into awareness through sometimes incapacitating problems. […] Bankers experienced puzzling bodily and psychological responses. The body here is separate from and inferior to the "I," like an object one can kick" (p. 342). The bankers developed embarrassing tics (nail biting, nose picking, hair twirling) and experienced their body antagonistically "taking over", "taking revenge" or "fighting back": "A banker combated her eating disorder by fasting and exercising more, training for a marathon even after midnight. [...] Bankers also sought distraction. They shopped, partied, and consumed pornography to counteract numbness, achieve control, and escape" (p. 343). In this moment, the subjects experienced high organizational control, but with unexpected and negatives consequences for themselves and for the organization, including ethical judgments lapses and reduced creativity.

From year 6 onwards: body as subject. "By year 6, about 40 percent of the sample treated the body as a subject that could guide action ('body as subjects'), gave up control over the body, and attended to its cues. The remaining 60 percent continued in the 'body as antagonist' role" (p. 347). In place of antagonizing with their bodies, which should have been controlled and tamed in the earlier moments, the bankers "developed the following three strategies, which I did not observe in the body as antagonists: (1) they became distrustful of and stepped back from the mind; (2) they surrendered agency while acting; and (3) they developed a relational orientation toward the body" (p. 348). The body, then, "helped bankers recognize and transcend control" (p. 350). In this moment, the low organizational control presented positive consequences to the organizations, such as higher ethical judgements and creativity.

The scheme's developmental character is to be noted: apart from the chronological order (from first to third year, from third year onwards and from sixth year onwards) there's also the fact that only some subjects attain the stage of body as subject. This way, it is assumed that in a moment of redemption we would have dominance and knowledge over the body. Besides, it is understood as an other, sometimes controlled and controllable object, sometimes rebelled object, sometimes subject, still well within the coordinates from the cartesian project. The four lines of inquiry in Organizational Studies resumed above show how it is a wrong assumption, for the body is always social, but our point is different: this body is inapprehensible if taken as purely biological or somatic. That's what is at play when "[the] regime of urgency and the intolerance to the demands of reality take to some kind of abolition of temporality, refuge of desire, contradictions and interdictions. This way, the mechanisms of refusal and avoidance of reflexive thought gain a prominent place" (Fernandes, 2007, p. 341), mechanisms that find their

own destiny in the body itself. A body that amidst discourses, ideals and techniques described by the participants of the study to control it, frame it and enhance it, insists on breaking, failing and falling ill despite the embodied and mental controls highlighted.

According to Parker (2016), an audience of lacanian psychoanalysts in a Critical Management Studies (CMS) conference vibrated with a presentation and discussion about the text presented above (Michel, 2011): "The audience at the 'Re-working Lacan at Work' conference were transfixed and delighted by how the bankers used, abused and in many cases ended up destroying their bodies […]" (p. 34). The question, then, became how to leave the mesmerized state to understand the limits of Michel's critique (in the last stage, let us recall, both the subjects align with the demands presented by their bodies and the organization benefited from the change of the subjects' relationship with control) and what could be the psychoanalytical contribution in enlarging such horizon:

> The lesson here is not so much that there are aspects of 'organizational control' of their bodies in the real that employees only belatedly acknowledge, but that there is a necessary gap between the experiential, imaginary realm that Michel (2011) is accessing and then building her 'ground theory' from and the symbolic processes that can only be grasped theoretically as manifestations of structure, as real. (Parker, 2016, p. 36).

It is in this gap that Psychoanalysis operates, because the body is the locus in which a "complex plot of relationships between psychic and somatic, or, in other words, the set of organic functions in movement inhabits a body that, crossed by drive and language constituted by alterity, is also the place of fulfillment of an unconscious desire" (Fernandes, 2003, p. 116). That this unconscious desire may express itself despite control mechanisms, whether bodily or mental, the result of a socialization fomented by organizations and despite of the will stated by the subjects themselves, here lies the presence of the erogenous body.

This way, not even the individuals that attain the supposed "stage" of "body as subject" do it. There is here the assumption of a domain of self that doesn't really occur, which is clear in this passage:

> Unobtrusive controls thus managed time, space, and energy. Unlike explicit cognitive controls, they were embodied in the environment and routines, sometimes for reasons unrelated to control. As long as they were junior, bankers mostly noticed verbal messages about autonomy and downplayed the importance of embodied controls, which made resistance less likely. As they became senior, some bankers noticed embodied controls: "I always thought that my choices are my own. Now I see how the bank subtly chooses for you" (Bank A director). But the unobtrusive controls had evolving effects on how bankers related to their bodies, which had consequences for the organization. (Michel, 2011, p. 340).

From the psychoanalytical notion of erogenous body, the body is a mirage. Moreover, there is here not only an ontological but a methodological lesson: as well as the body cannot

be apprehended in such a way, the research in organizations should understand that it is not "accumulating huge accounts of empirical data which has to be gathered and obsessively ordered" (Parker, 2016, p. 36) that one can solve the problem of research. However extensive and profuse Michel's ethnography was, she nonetheless cannot solve the "autonomy paradox", even though highlighted it. Acknowledging that there is a foundational impossibility to accede to the real is a lesson still to be understood by academia.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this work, we aimed to show that a fifth dimension of the body must be considered within Organization Studies: the erogenous body, such as described and formulated by Psychoanalysis. If, in a first moment, we showed how embodiment have been thematized in this research field, we revealed, then, how there is still a crucial dimension to be considered.

The ethnography undertaken by Michel (2011) is fertile material because of what is shows and hides. It highlights in a robust way how the organizational controls appear in the body and how they don't need to be explicit nor conscious to act. The material reveals, still, that not even the traditional motivational theories nor the cognitive theories of control can explain what is observed, faced as a paradox because an undivided subject is assumed. And it is here that we enter the territory of both the employees' and the author's ignorance. Once the mind gives place to the body in the center of a theoretical model that aims to explain the relationships of mutual determination between the organization's participants and the organization itself, a conceptual refinement about what is this body becomes necessary. Even in the impressively extensive ethnography in consideration, that takes the body as center, the body is nonetheless, well, an organic, somatic body that presents inexplicable pains and debilitating illnesses, sometimes object of control, sometimes something to be conquered, sometimes something which own inexplicable demands can be aligned with the organization's ones.

It is in this point of incidence that the definition of body apparently at play, an inheritance more or less explicit of the cartesian project and its dualists coordinates, can't handle what it proposes to explain and also surpass, that we realize how foundational is the contribution of Psychoanalysis and its conception of erogenous body to the grounding of embodiment.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

Marcelo Galletti Ferretti and Luiz Eduardo de Vasconcelos Moreira worked on the conceptualization and the theoretical-methodological approach. The theoretical review was conducted by Marcelo Galletti Ferretti. Marcelo Galletti Ferretti and Luiz Eduardo de Vasconcelos Moreira participated in redaction and final review of this text.

FORUM

BODY COLONIZATION AND WOMEN'S OBJECTIFICATION IN THE OBSTETRIC SYSTEM

Colonização do corpo e despersonificação da mulher no sistema obstétrico

Colonizacíon corporal y despersonificación de la mujer en el sistema obstétrico colonizado

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to offer a rationale on the subjection of women to the medical-hospital authority during pregnancy and childbirth. The study analyzes the current obstetric system in Brazil from a qualitative approach, based on narratives of twenty-four women who tell stories about how they felt objectified at the time of childbirth. The analysis shows that this system has been constituted in a colonized and violent way. The relationship of these women with the obstetric system is ruled by every form of body objectification, obstetric violence, and non-attendance to the woman's wishes as the protagonist of childbirth. Professional tutelage prevails to the detriment of the body's knowledge, of sensitiveness, of what is natural. The alternative to excessive medical/hospital authority in the traditional process has been the search for humanized teams, dismantling the hegemonic procedure from the desire to live childbirth as an experience of protagonism.

Keywords: body colonization, objectification, subjection, childbirth, obstetric violence.

RESUMO

O presente trabalho tem o objetivo de construir uma inteligibilidade sobre a sujeição da mulher à autoridade médico-hospitalar nos momentos de gestação e parto. O sistema obstétrico vigente no Brasil, estudado a partir de uma abordagem qualitativa, envolvendo narrativas de 24 mulheres que contam histórias sobre como elas se sentiram despersonificadas no momento do parto, denota que este tem se constituído de modo colonizado e violento. Na relação dessas mulheres com o sistema obstétrico, impera toda forma de objetificação do corpo, de violência obstétrica e de não atendimento às vontades da mulher enquanto ser protagonista do parto. Impera a tutela profissional em detrimento da atuação do saber do corpo, do sensível, do comum. A alternativa à excessiva autoridade médica/hospitalar no processo tradicional têm sido a busca por equipes humanizadas, desarticulando o procedimento hegemônico a partir do desejo de viver o parto como uma experiência de protagonismo.

Palavras-chave: *colonização do corpo, despersonificação, sujeição, parto, violência obstétrica.*

RESUMEN

El presente trabajo tiene como objetivo construir una inteligibilidad sobre el tema de la mujer a la autoridad médico-hospitalaria en los momentos del embarazo y parto. El sistema obstétrico vigente en Brasil, estudiado desde un enfoque cualitativo, involucrando narrativas de veinticuatro mujeres que cuentan historias sobre cómo se sintieron despersoficadas en el momento del parto, denota que se ha constituido de manera colonizada y violenta. En la relación de estas mujeres con el sistema obstétrico, prevalece toda forma de objetivación del cuerpo, violencia obstétrica e incumplimiento de la voluntad de la mujer siendo protagonista del parto. La tutela profesional prevalece a costa de actuar sobre el conocimiento del cuerpo, lo sensible, lo común. La alternativa a la excesiva autoridad médico/hospitalaria en el proceso tradicional ha sido la búsqueda de equipos humanizados, desmantelando el procedimiento hegemónico del deseo de vivir el parto como una experiencia de protagonismo.

Palabras clave: *colonización corporal, despersonificación, sometimiento, parto, violencia obstétrica.*

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to offer a rationale on the subjection of women to the medical-hospital authority during pregnancy and childbirth as a process of body colonization and obstetric violence. This process implies the objectification of women within an environment operated by modern science language, in which the Brazilian obstetric system prevails.

The culture of pregnancy and childbirth medicalization is one of the first acts institutionalized by an obstetric system that fragilizes the woman as a being possessing a body that needs assistance and medical care to work appropriately. The subjection of the female body to the institutional norms of modern science is facilitated when the body is affected by imbalances out of the ordinary, becoming the object of study for health theorists when these imbalances are classified as illness (Canguilhem, 1995, p.13).

When considering pregnancy and childbirth as potentially pathological processes instead of physiological events, the women's body becomes an object of the health system, requiring institutional procedures to get back to its state of regular balance. Adopted in health institutions, this bias about the individual (body) as an object of science constitutes what Goffman (1961) calls objectification, an approach that naturalizes violent events in pregnancy, childbirth, and postpartum processes, i.e., obstetric violence.

Although there is no global consensus regarding which practices can be considered obstetric violence, Bohren et al. (2015) synthesize the mistreatment of women during childbirth – demonstrated by studies in 34 countries – and organize such practices in seven domains: physical abuse (use of force and physical restriction), sexual abuse, verbal abuse (rude language, threats, and accusation), stigma and discrimination, failure to meet professional standards of care (lack of informed consent and confidentiality, excessively painful procedures without consent or communication, negligence and abandonment), poor rapport between women and providers (ineffective communication, lack of support and autonomy), and health systems conditions and constraints (lack of resources, lack of policies, institutional culture). In Brazil, the Ministry of Health (Ministério da Saúde, 2018) recognized that obstetric violence can occur in many forms, including the submission of women to a set of norms and standardized procedures, placing childbirth as part of a standardized process of a hospital event:

> Obstetric violence happens during pregnancy, childbirth, and/or postpartum, including during miscarriages. It can be physical, psychological, verbal, symbolic, and/or sexual, in addition to negligence, discrimination, and/or extreme or needless or discouraged conduct. These practices submit women to rigid norms and routines often unnecessary that do not respect their bodies and natural rhythms and prevent them from exercising their protagonism (paragraph 3).

On May 3, 2019, the Brazilian Ministry of Health forwarded the document *Despacho/ Ofício* n. 017/19 – JUR/SEC disclosing its position against the use of the term "obstetric violence," alleging an inappropriate connotation. For such positioning, both the Public Prosecutor's Office

(Ministério Público Federal, 2019), in a Public Decree (Nota Pública), and the Social Security and Family Commission of the Chamber of Deputies (Câmara dos Deputados, 2019), took a critical position on the ministries' position. This study keeps the definition of the Brazilian Ministry of Health (Ministério da Saúde, 2018), considering the process of obtaining (Sadler et al., 2016) the recognition of the term as one of the first steps to fight it as a practice.

In this context, and as a form of resistance and micropolitical action, childbirth humanization movements have gained force in the last decade, motivated by a series of factors such as access to information, the reunion of people with the same motivations to discuss objectives, paths, and alternatives to fight obstetric violence and the excessive number of cesarean sections in Brazil. The latter puts Brazil as one of the countries with the highest rates of this procedure in the world, with 58.69% of births happening via cesarean section (Portal ODS, 2017), while the World Health Organization (WHO, 2018) considers an ideal rate of cesarean sections between 10% and 15% of births.

This confluence of institutional elements that culminate in a movement of deterritorialization of the woman during childbirth (when her body is colonized by the language and launched in another territory) occurs when the woman's physiological event becomes a medical event, where she is the object of the process, and the baby is the final product.

Subjugation is easily established when the woman is shaken due to the objectification process, which happens when she takes off her clothes, when she enters a predetermined routine system, institutionally, when she, against her will, participates in symbolic activities. The mortification of the individuality, of the body, and the colonization of life are established by the institutional language (Goffman, 1961) – which we call deterritorialization, i.e., the movement by which one abandons the territory while establishing in another. In this case, the body is over coded by the circuits of obstetric language and by the layers of values and controls instituted as professional attributes (Deleuze & Guattari, 2017).

After this introduction, we started from a perspective about the subjection and objectification of women during pregnancy and childbirth as a form of body colonization by obstetric violence to build a rationale on women's subjection to medical authority. The third section presents the methodological approach, categorizing the study as qualitative research based on interviews started from an open question and submitted to content analysis. The fourth section deals with the construction of a narrative in a multitude of stories and discourses, conceiving a rationale for the central question of this work. Finally, the final considerations offer a brief discussion of the research results and contributions.

THE COLONIZATION OF THE BODY: WOMEN IN LABOR IN THE OBSTETRIC SYSTEM

Body subjectification

Deleuze and Guattari (2011) and Foucault (1979) argue that the subject is inscribed in society based on an imprisonment at the dimensions of language, culture, and moral values, since

birth, produced through so-called institutional vectors, starting with family, school, community, among others. Such institutions dislocate the subject from their becoming, from the dimension of a free body, a "body without organs," placing this body within identity outlines, ways of life, legitimizing authorities, institutions, declarations of truth and disciplinary regimes. In the public health system these structures are operated by professionals and medical-hospital services, which encompasses obstetrics.

In the midst of the "grammatical," disciplined vision, Canguilhem (1995) points out the experiences of the body between what it is denominated normal and the pathological; although the author is not sure in placing these two concepts as opposing, he explains that, when the normal enters in disharmony, it becomes pathological. Thus, the normal vital phenomena are placed almost in the opposing line of what could be considered pathological. And what would be pregnancy and childbirth processes if not a vital and normal physiological phenomenon, not only to the physiology of the woman's body, but even more to society?

The constant medicalization and pathologization of pregnancy and childbirth end up removing the vital process from the feminine body and placing it at the hands of institutions, transforming them into a medical event, not belonging to the feminine body. Analogous to this behavior, what is seen in the stories on obstetric violence is exactly the woman's feeling of not-belonging to her own body and its inherent phenomena. With this intervention, the woman feels objectified, manipulated in a production line, whose final product is the birth of the baby.

For illnesses, science, and consequently medicine, should act under the principle of using the therapeutic phenomenon as an incitation to the return to the natural state, from which it strayed: "all curative resources have only one goal, to return altered vital properties to their natural state" (Bichat, 1800, as quoted in Canguilhem, 1995, p. 41). However, regarding the vital and physiological processes of childbirth, the evidence show that this principle is not followed, not only in pathological cases, when childbirth requires palliative or surgical medical procedures, like a cesarean section. The curative process is used even when childbirth follows its natural flow, in a way that medicalization is adopted as a general rule and in all situations, using artificial and/or mechanical means as a form of cure. In short, the normality, established here, is taken as pathological and submitted to a production line endowed with procedures and standardizations that "cure illnesses," regardless of their existence.

It is the pathologization of childbirth that allows its inclusion in the prevalent health systems and its subjection to medical knowledge. The expected action is medical support, monitoring the health of the mother-baby binomial during prenatal care, serving the person, respecting the woman's decisions regarding the procedures she can choose, with information and protagonism. However, pregnancy is a condition subject to pathologies, and the medical protocols act more strongly on this potential than on the natural event. As *Caderno HumanizaSUS* (Humanize SUS Journal) cites (Ministério da Saúde, 2014), the exclusion of the subjectivity of the individual was the product of a recognition process of what is science and what is health, illness being the main object of study, and health a concept constantly at risk.

Although more evident in recent years, the need for humanization is not a recent finding. This medical issue was already demonstrated in 1948. The concept of health was substituted by well-being, which is something individualized and strengthened the dimension of subjectivity (Ministério da Saúde, 2014, p. 25). However, the current obstetric system still comes close to the previous concept that deals with the objectification of the individual as a carrier of illness and the disease as an object of study.

With the Sanitary Reformation in the constitution of 1988, humanized childbirth was reviewed, considering the perspectives of universality, integrality, equity, decentralization, regionalization, and social participation. These elements should be present in a new obstetric model to produce integral health actions considering the needs of the woman and her child, childbirth necessities, safe and humanized births, and the construction and maintenance of perinatal networks. Thus, birth is considered a biopsychosocial event, recognized as a biological-anatomical event, psychological and biochemical, integrated into mental and spiritual components, that is by its very nature feminine, intuitive, sexual, and spiritual (Ministério da Saúde, 2014, p. 25). This paradigm differentiation was classified in three models, as shown in Exhibit 1, by Davis-Floyd (2001, cited in Ministério da Saúde, 2014). These models are not intended to exclude. They are synergic, and the assistance model can transit between the models according to the needs and characteristics of the individual.

Exhibit 1. Models of health assistance

Technomedical or biomedical model	Humanist model	Holistic model
1. Body-mind separation 2. The body as a machine 3. Patient as an object 4. Doctors alienation in relation to the patient 5. Diagnosis and treatment from the outside in (curing the disease, repairing a dysfunction) 6. Hierarchical organization and standardization of care 7. Authority and responsibility inherent in the doctor, not the patient 8. Overvaluation of hard science and technology 9. Aggressive interventions with an emphasis on short-term results 10. Death as defeat 11. A profit driven system 12. Intolerance to other modalities.	1. Mind-body connection 2. The body as an organism 3. The patient as a relational subject 4. Connection and affection between doctor and patient 5. Diagnosing and healing from the outside in and from the inside out 6. Balance between the desires of the institution and the individual 7. Information, decision-making, and responsibility shared between the doctor and the patient 8. Science and technology are counterbalanced with humanism 9. Focus on disease prevention 10. Death as an acceptable result 11. Compassion-driven care 12. Open mind to other modalities	1. Oneness of body-mind and spirit. 2. The body is an energy system interconnected with other energy systems3. Healing the whole person in the context of life as a whole 3. Essential unity between doctor and client 4. Diagnosis and healing from the inside out 5. Organizational structure in a network that facilitates the individualization of care 6. Authority and responsibility inherent in each individual 7. Science and technology placed at the service of the individual 8. Long-term focus on creating and maintaining health and well-being 9. Death is a process 10. Healing is the focus 11. Embraces multiple healing modalities
Underlying basic principle: separation	Underlying basic principles: balance and connection	Underlying basic principles: connection and integration.
Type of thinking: unimodal, left-brain, and linear	Type of thinking: bimodal	Type of thinking: fluid, multimodal, and right brain

Source: Ministério da Saúde (2014)

In addition to the medical care model, important structural changes that benefit the humanist or holistic model are observed. As for the obstetric assistance model, some of these changes (for example, the countries that changed their rates of cesarean sections) refer to undoing the link between childbirth and health institutions and doctor subjection, creating new spaces such as childbirth houses (as those observed in Brazil). However, there are only a few of these spaces, insufficient for the demand. With the multidisciplinary action of the obstetric nursery, therapists, doulas, and other actors, the delivery for low-risk pregnant women occurs physiologically, not pathologically, and the other cases can be transferred to a hospital, usually annexed or nearby.

The holistic and humanist models propose practices constructed based on feeling, aware of the needs of the body, not exclusive to the technical rationality. The authority and the power built within the relationship between the woman, the doctor, and the hospital (or health) services are horizontal. The woman starts to occupy a different place, dislocating herself from the dimension of the passive patient. According to Deleuze and Guattari (2011), making the body without organs by leaving behind the references of medical authority and language means to surpass the capture and the truths spread by the modern and transcendent machine of *sócius*. Starting from the stripping of the hegemonic discourse (cultural and referential grid) and accessing the desire in the dimension of the will of power (and not due to the lack of medical knowledge), the woman asserts her differences while producing through the *affections*, in the relationship with the medical-hospital knowledge that also starts to differ (becoming) (Deleuze & Guattari, 2011; Rolnik, 2018).

Subjection of the individual

Before discussing the issue of subjection, it is essential to address the theme of power and its entanglements in social actions since social control over the individuals does not start from ideology or awareness, but in the body and with the body (Foucault, 1979, p. 80). Both the capitalist scheme and medicine use the body, and consequently its subjection, as a biopolitical strategy. It is in the control of the body, of the forms of experience, in the subjection of the body to a system or social machine (Deleuze & Guattari, 2011) that power spreads and develops.

Subjection begins with the power disciplining bodies – which are systematized, categorized, placed in order and pattern, wishing self-repression. Discipline is the first form of destitution of the bodies themselves. The docile bodies are conceived in a passive dimension, inscribed in the language (referential grade), objectified, legitimizing the authority of the medicalization (Foucault, 1979), when the discipline places them at the disposal of institutional rules and truths (moral-scientific circuit, for example), subject to the medical authority, obedient to surveillance and continuous monitoring. In this context, "the individual emerges as an object of medical knowledge and practice" (Foucault, 1979, p. 111, our translation).

According to Foucault, the constitution of the subject as an object of knowledge to themselves is the core of what we could call subjectivity. It is how the subject makes a relationship experience with the self (Foucault, 1984, p. 230). Still, the subjectivation process is the recognition of oneself simultaneously as subject and out of the subject (coextensive dimension), a movement where

the subject is in a relationship with the external world and with its inner world, through thoughts and the constitution of itself in a circuit of *affections* that summons it to the 'strangely familiar' dimension. In this network of relationships, the subject feels if the subjectivity installed in its body over codes it in constant subjection or if it deterritorializes the individual as a continuous process of subjectivation without a subject, as a potential to be, an active micropolitical becoming (Deleuze & Guattari, 2011, 2017; Rolnik, 2018). However, as a subject, the woman sees herself following institutional norms, accepting the culture, or including herself in the form of being that society imposes on her.

In this study, the standardized form of subjection is in the patient-medical institution relationship, where power is constituted for the one who holds the procedures and technical knowledge, an authority already established by a set of power practices that do not necessarily need to act upon the other, but upon the actions of the other (Foucault, 1984). The word patient itself says a lot. Of Latin origin, "patient" means the one that resists. The word already denotes passivity, the subjection to another, i.e., objectification.

Objectification of the woman during childbirth

Goffman (1961) describes the forms of objectification in total institutions, i.e., those where individuals find themselves subjected to conducting their daily activities for a certain period, with enclosure traits (without contact with external life), such as monasteries, asylums, and prisons. In these organizations, the first violation of privacy occurs, according to Goffman (1961, p. 31), at the time of admission to the institutions, even if the admission is voluntary. When a person enters a hospital, they have to register and offer personal information to meet the requirement of bureaucratic control and subsidize the service provided by the medical and administrative personnel. For the author, at that moment, the border between the individual and the organization is already invaded by the latter. From these records, the individual-subject (the woman), when having to dress in the institution's clothes and when assigned to a ward, expose her nudity and physiological needs to the institution's knowledge, have her visits and accompaniments monitored, carry out exams where "both the examiner and the examination penetrate the individual's intimacy and violate the territory of the self" (Goffman, 1961, p. 35), as in the case of an internal exam, for example, and when subjected to a relationship of scientific power-knowledge inherent to the medical-hospital team, objectification takes place.

Although there are no high walls, closed doors, or a mechanism of physical containment, the majority of women in these institutions obey a "hospital discharge" mechanism so that they can leave. Other points in common between Goffman's closed institutions and maternity hospitals are: 1) constant supervision; 2) the authority of those who hold power, which is established through technical knowledge (also described by Foucault, 1987); 3) the social distance between the social strata of those who are interns and those who supervise them, such as the medical and nursing staff; 4) standardization of procedures and meeting demands; and 5) subjecting the patients to the institution's routines and ways of life, such as schedules that must be obeyed.

METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a social constructionist approach (Gergen, 2009) that involved immersion in the theme-field (Spink, 2003) of pregnancy and childbirth, exploring the relationship of women with the traditional/hegemonic medical language and the humanized alternative language.

The narrative (language) is a way to produce meaning to build reality. Therefore, the research was conducted based on the social construction of realities, considering the different narratives from different voices and registers, voices that tell specific and small stories, which construct the main story that answers the proposed research problem (Borges, 2013). It consists of qualitative research using the social constructionist approach to offer a rationale about women's subjection to medical and hospital authority during childbirth, based on narratives from 24 women (23 were written and one was recorded).

The question that guided the research was: "At what point in your pregnancy/delivery/ postpartum did you feel treated as an object of the system without autonomy of your body?" Data were collected in January 2019, sending an electronic link to participants, leading to a form where they could send data through video, photos, and reports. The form displayed a phone number so respondents could contact researchers to complement the data collection process. After researchers were immersed in the theme-field, it was necessary to move away to disassociate the feelings evidenced from the exposure to the collected data. The answers came from several regions of Brazil and one from Portugal. Labor experiences in hospitals, both public and private, and domiciliary childbirths were reported. Demographic data were not collected since it was not the focus of the study to categorize the respondents in any way, thus respecting their protagonism and particularities. The names were suppressed for confidentiality, adopting "Interviewee I(number)."

Of the 24 received stories, only one was discarded for not addressing the research question. Based on content analysis (Bardin, 1977), the reports were transcribed and organized into a single document, which contributed to recognizing the situations of body colonization, objectification, and the emergence of concepts such as obstetric violence.

The different narratives form a multiple and unison voice, expressing something that women want to tell about the violence of subjection when experiencing pregnancy and childbirth. This is a fundamental micropolitical action in the struggle of the displacement of the objectification of women during pregnancy and childbirth, i.e., a decolonial cry, which deterritorializes women from records conceived in their relationship of subjection to language and medical-hospital knowledge.

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS: A RATIONALE ON THE SUBJECTION OF PREGNANT WOMEN TO MEDICAL AUTHORITY

The narratives of different women who have experienced pregnancy and childbirth express pain, anguish, fear, or abuse, a state of institutionalized objectification. It is a state produced by the obstetric specialty operating system hegemonic in Brazilian culture.

Pregnant women enter a moral and authoritarian constraining circuit legitimized and produced by scientific and professional rationality. It is a constraint marked by the body, colonized and over-coded by disciplinary vectors, institutionalized by norms and procedures built by a knowledge that deauthorizes the person, transforming them into a docile subject, devoid of freedom and protagonism in the relationship with the professional.

However, it is precisely from the anguish and discomfort that women subjected to the medical codes find the motivation to re-tell their experiences and speak about the violence suffered. It is a development of thinking based on the body, based on a wound difficult to elaborate. However, it is a wound that demands confrontation, only to promote the effectuation of mental health and the necessary micropolitical action.

Through reading the 24 reports, full of emotion, struggles, and mourning, some important rationales emerged that evidence objectification during childbirth, namely:

1. The use of medical power-knowledge to disregard the pregnant woman's wishes for a type of delivery;

2. Blaming or placing the responsibility on women in a process where they, without realizing it, find themselves victims of violence in a technocratic system (Technomedical Model, Exhibit 1);

3. The objectification of women, disregarding their subjectivities, emotions, and psychic desires;

4. Objectification.

Obstetric violence, which is a large umbrella involving all the above subjection modes, occurs implicitly or explicitly, physically, morally, emotionally, or psychically causing many women to suffer as victims of an obstetric system that still disregards human subjectivity in medical practices, treating patients in an objectified, alienated, dysfunctional, standardized way and with the other characteristics of the technomedical or biomedical model.

The lack of knowledge of the real causes of medical indication for cesarean sections is present in many reports, including when the doctor disregards the pregnant woman's wishes during prenatal care, claiming that she will not be able to have a vaginal delivery, because: "I broke my arm during pregnancy" (Interviewee I4), "the baby is very big" (Interviewee I13), "you can only go to 39 weeks" (Interviewee I16), "you are overweight" (Interviewee I21); showing that:

> Medical power finds its guarantees and justifications in the privileges of knowledge. The doctor is competent; the doctor knows the diseases and the patients, they have the same kind of scientific knowledge as the chemist and the biologist, which allows their intervention and decision. (Foucault, 1979, p. 70, our translation)

The indications for cesarean section mentioned above do not reflect real medical recommendations. Instead, they denounce a lack of desire on the part of the medical team to accompany a delivery. During such a delicate moment, the woman or the family are hardly willing to challenge the medical position, and the subjection prevails. For Interviewee I22:

"when the doctor said 'it has to be a cesarean section,' I had to accept what he said. For me he was in charge. They didn't call my husband to the delivery room and they didn't put the baby on my chest" (Interviewee I22).

Pregnant women who were not well-informed during pregnancy about childbirth and its processes – and mainly because of the pathologies that may arise leading to a cesarean section – do not have the resources to decide when faced with a medical allegation changing the procedure previously agreed (as in the case of pregnant women who opt for vaginal delivery and end up being directed to a cesarean section).

The reports also show a constant blaming and accountability of women, so that they are gradually weakening and subjecting themselves to avoid blame:

1. We saw three pediatricians during those hours until the last one told me that it was my fault because my daughter hadn't spent enough time in the sunlight and was jaundiced (Interviewee I3);

2. If I moved, I could contaminate the area (Interviewee I10);

3. (When I opted for vaginal delivery) my doctor already scared me, saying that a uterine rupture was very dangerous, that there was no way to know if it would happen, and then the baby and I would die (Interviewee I13);

4. I would be responsible for something that went wrong (Interviewee I16);

5. I was humiliated for being overweight, hearing a "you got pregnant because you wanted to, you took the risk" (Interviewee I21).

This evidences a lack of support. The woman needs to be integrated into the decisions and informed of the potential risks that actually exist in each decision, not to blame her for the risk (item 3 above), but to act as protagonists in the decision-making process.

Blame attribution is not justified when the woman is really integrated, taking the leading role in childbirth and occupying a position as part of an entire context. The previously mentioned arguments are still strongly related to the verbal, psychological, and emotional obstetric violence suffered by these women. In addition, these arguments evidenced a feeling of guilt and were categorized as such, explicitly indicating one of the constituent elements of objectification (Goffman, 1961) and obstetric violence.

During hospitalizations, some women reported what made them feel like objects, deprived of their own subjectivity. They felt particularly objectified when neglected, differently from the evidence provided by Goffman (1961), who pointed out objectification due to institutional norms and the daily life of hospitalizations. Perhaps objectification is perceived in a very subjective and unconscious way from the moment of hospitalization, but it culminates in real perception, precisely in moments of helplessness, as the following reports indicate:

1. So they left me alone in the room with my legs slightly bent, my husband accompanied our baby and I stayed there... Feeling like a "baby-removing machine"... It was as if they had already taken what mattered from me and at that moment I was not even a whole body. (Interviewee I4);

2. When they left me in the hallway for almost two hours, waiting for the health plan to be released and my daughter stayed in the nursery. (Interviewee I9);

3. I started asking the nurse how long the anesthesia lasted and why I felt so cold. She responded and asked me to stop asking so many questions. That's when I started to feel that I didn't have any autonomy... When I left the delivery room, the nurses picked me up, took me to the room and put me to bed in a rough way, I felt like an object because in addition, nobody talked to me (Interviewee I11);

4. I realized that the nurses had brought the wrong dose of medication. I complained and they just wouldn't listen. I started to feel pain throughout the day, and at the next dose of the medicine, I complained again. They pretended that they had heard and would confirm it in the chart. I spoke to the obstetrician, she confirmed that I was right and she needed to intervene so that the medication was given in the correct dose... I was reduced to a chart that was not even read correctly (Interviewee I15).

In the reports, it is evident that the woman does not act in the birth process. After the birth of the baby – "final product" – the woman, as a non-protagonist of childbirth, is not legitimized as an individual with subjectivities, but mainly acts as a means (subjected body) that enables birth, which is seen in a discard position (stories 1, 2, and 3 above). In the postpartum period, interviewee I15 (item 4 above) shows how she felt reduced to a medical record when on several occasions, she reported the error when administered medication, and she felt disregarded by the nursing team.

Goffman's (1961) objectification mechanisms are evidenced in the reports, where the institution imposes subjection to the woman's institutional routine. As much as it may seem like an organization of an institution routine, authors such as Foucault (1979), Deleuze and Guattari (2011, 2017), and Goffman (1961) show how these structural mechanisms (language operators) act to discipline the individual and make them docile, as a form of power or, in other words, how the subject is captured and over coded by the moral regime, of values (medical, professional knowledge), from a binary rationality, to the detriment of knowledge of the body, of the living plane.

As the disciplinary regime to regulations is one of the first forms of the individual's subjection (by making them obedient, putting them into routines, clothes, processes, and medical procedures), the patient is a newcomer who must adapt to the institution, which works and exists independently of the particularities of the individuals who come and go. It is not exactly this institutional organization that is questioned, but the force of action as a structure of power, of language, capable of not legitimizing the individual subjectivities, by framing them in an objectified way, by reducing them to the reactive subject (Deleuze & Guattari, 2011, 2017; Rolnik, 2018). The reports that follow exemplify the forms of subjection to the structure through which women's bodies are inscribed in a loss of subjectivity:

1. Upon arriving at the hospital, on the scheduled date and time, I was instructed to take a shower (I had already taken a shower, but this orientation did not give me a choice and I took another), I put on the hospital gown... my son was born, so they showed my son and he was taken to the pediatrician for standard procedures (Interviewee I4);

2. During labor I asked for a glass of water, and they did not allow me a drink (Interviewee I8);

3. I was deprived of food. Deprived of giving birth in the most comfortable position. I had my legs held while the doctor tried to pull Vincent out with his fingers while I screamed in terror. I had my belly pushed in a prohibited maneuver, outside the expulsive period and without being fully dilated. I lost stability, they put me on oxygen, and I heard my son's heartbeat disappearing with the sonar. It was terrifying (Interviewee I21).

The silencing of subjectivity stems from the strong evidence of subjection and disregard of the living condition to which Interviewee I21 was subjected. All these forms of subjection and objectification culminate more explicitly in obstetric violence:

1. At the time of performing the internal exam, six people felt my dilation. I felt embarrassed, even though the "HU" is a University Hospital, there are many people touching you without even asking if this is ok (Interviewee I1);

2. With my first child, at age 21... I got tired of hearing about vaginal delivery, something like "Ahhh, she's young, she can handle having the baby delivered naturally, it was easy to do". (Interviewee I2);

3. I asked them not to cut me (episiotomy) and they did it anyway (Interviewee I8);

4. During labor, they tied my legs even though I asked not to do it, they did an episiotomy even though I didn't want to, the nurse climbed up and pushed my belly (Interviewee I9);

5. Mine was a vaginal delivery, I asked them not to do the episiotomy and the doctor laughed, did it [the episiotomy], and used forceps. Then the anesthesiologist climbed on me to push the baby, I couldn't move so I wouldn't contaminate the area and a nurse complained all the time because her son kept calling asking why she wasn't home (Interviewee I10);

6. In the first pregnancy, at 37 weeks, the obstetrician performed an internal exam, which was actually forcing dilation for vaginal delivery (Interviewee I12);

7. They broke two ribs in a cesarean section. (Interviewee I20);

8. I was humiliated for being overweight, hearing a "you got pregnant because you wanted to, you took the risk" while crying in fear of losing Vincent. But it wasn't my body's fault. Being fat or thin doesn't stop the body from doing its job. The fault was the doctor's haste to make me give birth..." C-section only as a last resort, it will all be open and infected." Hearing this at the most fragile moment of my existence tore me apart. When I went up to the room after the emergency C-section, I just cried, repeating that I would get infected, and the head nurse had to come to reassure me. The worst happened and I really was all open and infected for a month. Humiliation was not the only violence I suffered (Interviewee I21);

9. An ultrasound doctor asked if this pregnancy was from the same father as my first child and said that I should be hospitalized because I have two children at age 24. I, as I am going through an acceptance problem with the pregnancy, suffered a lot from the comment (Interviewee I17);

10. You're not in enough pain to scream like that (Interviewee I18).

Obstetric violence can occur verbally (evident in items 2, 5, 8, 9, and 10 above), physically, psychologically, and emotionally. It harms women's dignity and occurs during pregnancy, childbirth, and postpartum. Any form of verbal depreciation, laughter, disregard, or appropriation of something as subjective as pain (item 10) is part of what is considered obstetric violence. The internal exam is a procedure that can be used in labor to assess the progression of dilation; it is a procedure that helps but is not mandatory; if done painfully, excessively, or without consent, it can be considered obstetric violence (Ministério da Saúde, 2014).

Procedures performed during vaginal delivery are rarely performed in isolation, for example, the use of synthetic oxytocin greatly increases the intensity of pain due to the force of contractions, and the side effects range from the request for analgesia to an intrapartum cesarean section. This is due to changes in the baby's heartbeat and, in the case of analgesia, they can culminate in a lack of control in the expulsive period, which is usually associated with the use of other procedures considered violence, such as the Kristeller maneuver (items 4 and 5 above), a maneuver in which the mother's belly is pushed in order to expel the baby, and episiotomy (items 3, 4, and 5 above), a cut made in the perineum with the aim of increasing the amplitude of vaginal passage. Since 1980, there has been sufficient scientific evidence to advise against its use. However, episiotomy is still routinely performed in vaginal deliveries. Its recommended use should be limited to a maximum of 15% to 30% of cases and with justifications of fetal or maternal distress (Diniz & Chacham, 2006, p. 85).

Disallowing the women to wander around, move (item 5 above), or forcing them into a lithotomy position (items 4 and 5) are also very common forms of obstetric violence. The Ministry of Health (Ministério da Saúde, 2014), in the *Caderno HumanizaSUS*, has some recommendations for respectful care for the mother, so that there is, mainly, a change from the hospital-centered scenario to humanized care:

> It implies, above all, a change in the attitude of the teams and professionals so that the physiology of childbirth is respected, unnecessary interventions are avoided (such as ultrasounds without clinical indication, routine episiotomy, elective cesarean section without clinical indication and/or under false pretenses, internal exams before labor without clear indication, membrane detachment before weeks of pregnancy, early hospitalization, fasting, shaving and enema, restriction of freedom of movement, routine use of oxytocin, routine aspiration of the newborn's airways born, among others) (Ministério da Saúde, 2014, pp. 239-240, our translation).

To "escape" the current obstetric system, women usually seek alternative procedures through doulas or humanized teams. Interviewee I13 reports that she managed to have a humanized delivery, with the respect and autonomy she was looking for, after two cesarean sections in which she says that the system did not allow her to experience the delivery. After two pregnancies in which her search and desires were not met or even considered, she delivered her third child with a team that listened to her and legitimized her as a woman with autonomy over her own body and the lives present at that moment:

> My innermost needs were taken care of, my body's needs were taken care of, my baby's needs were taken care of, my older children's needs were taken care of... and I really felt powerful, strong, warrior, embellished in love and care from a team that made me believe in myself and was with me until the end (Interviewee I13).

The childbirth in the dimension of a responsive encounter allows the relationship of listening and welcoming, in which these women learn and elaborate on their experience, on what could have happened or not, so it is not about looking for blame for the suffering but mainly to remove from themselves all the guilt they carry for having allowed themselves to feel discomfort in a moment so sacred. The reports mention that they feel coerced not to report that they did not like something in the delivery because, after all, the most important thing happened, the baby was born well and healthy. But what about the mother?

> People angrily accused me and questioned why I was like this (crying), that there can be no reason to be like this, it was ungrateful on my part to cry, because the baby doesn't deserve a mother like me, who isn't happy and happy to see her own baby (Interviewee I12).

Within this elaboration process, some women even go to maternity hospitals to get the medical records to check if everything the medical team did was reported in the documents; such behavior is part of a process that begins with the intention of healing and ends, in many cases, with a desire to inform and help other women, whether groups of friends or in support groups, so that the violence suffered does not recur with others. The vast majority want and fight for a change in the obstetric system:

> In addition to not submitting to institutionalization, the new type of activism does not restrict the focus of its struggle to an expansion of equal rights – macropolitical insurgency – as it expands it micropolitically to the affirmation of another right that encompasses all others: the right to exist or, more precisely, the right to life in its essence of creative power. Its target is the reappropriation of vital force in the face of its expropriation by the colonial-capitalist regime (Rolnik, 2018, p. 24, our translation).

Many reports came full of encouragement and thanks with words that refer to the fight, the voices that must not be silenced, and the claims to the leading role that was taken away from them at that moment. This movement acts in a very important micropolitical way, whether in small group performances or in what seems to be simple, the recognition of themselves after experiencing these moments and the elaboration of what was lived in a way that can be used for themselves and to help other women, to help what is called activism but which can be understood as sisterhood.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study goes beyond the informative and explanatory nature of the forms of objectification that women suffer within institutions, during pregnancy, childbirth, and postpartum. It refers to micropolitics and resistance to the impositions arising from the medical and hospital authorities, of professional categories. It is essential to increasingly adopt mechanisms that work in favor of deconstructing women's passivity as subject to a system that, in most cases, still occurs in a technocratic and mechanical way and disallows women from protagonism regarding the activation of their own bodies.

Objectification occurs with the colonization of this biopsychosocial event. With the emergence of cities and modern life, the industrial way of life, health began to be assisted within this social model developed through techniques, procedures, standardizations, and childbirth progressively became part of the institutional model, and less and less to ancestral knowledge. Technology and advances in medicine have made it possible to cure several pathologies, including those developed during pregnancy or linked to childbirth. However, over coding was evident; childbirth no longer belonged to women, nor did their bodies and desires. The technomedical model trained the view of its professionals for the objectification of bodies and individuals, and, as much as there are attempts at humanization and attention to the holistic model, the reports still offer strong evidence of the validity of the technomedical model as a disciplinary regime and hegemonic language. .

The humanization of childbirth symbolizes a return of practices oppressed by the hegemonic language constructed as a project of modernity of capitalist society. The proposals for action and resistance, through active micropolitics, occur when these women meet with their experiences so that they can elaborate in a "personal-sensory-sentimental-cognitive" way (Rolnik, 2018) their experiences and the recognition of repressed subjectivities, with the aim of healing and social action, so that other women benefit from an experience of autonomy and freedom in childbirth, living this moment in the maximum.

In the macro-political field, it is possible to see that actions go back three decades on the humanization of childbirth. However, the latest reports and many studies show that obstetric violence, in all its faces, still occurs in institutional environments. From the latest figures that place Brazil as one of the leaders in the number of cesarean sections, it is clear that these policies need more action and greater reach, as many women still arrive at the maternity hospital with

little or no knowledge about the physiology of childbirth and how to handle the procedures. The reports show that subjection still occurs and often culminates in obstetric violence and women objectification, depriving them of being protagonists of their own bodies.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

Francielli Martins Borges Ladeira and William Antonio Borges worked on the conceptualization and theoretical-methodological approach. The theoretical review was conducted by Francielli Martins Borges Ladeira and William Antonio Borges . Data collection was coordinated by Francielli Martins Borges Ladeira and William Antonio Borges . Data analysis included Francielli Martins Borges Ladeira and William Antonio Borges . All authors worked together in the writing and final revision of the manuscript.

FORUM

GENDER-BODY-SEXUALITY IN SPATIALIZING: PRODUCING BODIES-IN-THE-FIELD IN RESEARCH

Gênero-corpo-sexualidade no espacializar: Produzindo corpos-em-campo na pesquisa

Género-cuerpo-sexualidad en la espacialización: Produciendo cuerpos-en-campo en la investigación

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to examine spatiality in research work based on the body, gender and sexuality relations established between research subjects and the researcher in an ethnographic theoretical-empirical study. Taking as our starting point theories about spatiality and materiality, we have developed conceptually the notion of bodies-in-the-field as a possible way to produce knowledge not about, but with specific individual lives. This approach also allows us to understand the body based on organizational practices and to break with processes that silence and hierarchically situate specific bodies and produce theoretical and empirical gaps in research, insofar as it aims to give visibility to and problematize the researcher body in the production of space. In Organizational Studies, this approach is relevant to an ethical and political research agenda concerned with fostering dialogue with and recognition of different bodies, genders, and sexualities, thus expanding the possibilities of organizational practice.

Keywords: space, spatiality, body, reflexivity, practices.

RESUMO

Este artigo objetiva desvelar a espacialidade no trabalho de pesquisa a partir das relações de corpo, gênero e sexualidade entre sujeitos pesquisados e pesquisador a partir de um estudo de cunho teórico-empírico de base etnográfica. Tomando como ponto de partida teorizações sobre espacialidade e materialidade, desenvolvemos conceitualmente a noção de corpos-em-campo como um possível caminho para a produção de conhecimentos não sobre, mas com específicas vidas. Tal movimento permite ainda compreender o corpo a partir das práticas de organização e romper com processos de silenciamento e hierarquização de específicos corpos que configuram lacunas teóricas e empíricas na pesquisa, na medida em que propõe visibilizar e problematizar também o corpo pesquisador na produção do espaço. Nos Estudos Organizacionais, esse movimento torna-se relevante para uma agenda ética e política de pesquisa preocupada com a construção de diálogos e reconhecimentos com diferentes corpos, gêneros e sexualidades que permitem ampliar possibilidades de praticar organização.

Palavras-chave: *espaço, espacialidade, corpo, reflexividade, práticas.*

RESUMEN

Este artículo tiene como objetivo develar la espacialidad en el trabajo de investigación a partir de las relaciones de cuerpo, género y sexualidad entre investigados e investigador. Realizamos para esto un estudio etnográfico de carácter teórico-empírico. Tomando como punto de partida las teorías sobre la espacialidad y la materialidad, desarrollamos conceptualmente la noción de cuerpos-en-campo como una posible vía para la producción de conocimiento no sobre sino con vidas específicas. Dicho movimiento permite también entender el cuerpo desde las prácticas de organización y romper con procesos de silenciamiento y jerarquización de cuerpos específicos que configuran brechas teóricas y empíricas en la investigación, en la medida en que propone visibilizar y problematizar también el cuerpo investigador en la producción del espacio. En los estudios organizacionales, este movimiento adquiere relevancia para una agenda de investigación ética y política preocupada por la construcción de diálogos y reconocimientos con diferentes cuerpos, géneros y sexualidades que permitan ampliar las posibilidades de practicar la organización.

Palabras clave: *espacio, espacialidad, cuerpo, reflexividad, prácticas.*

INTRODUCTION

Attempts to apprehend spatial production practices in organizational research imply, to some extent, thinking of spatializing as a material practice and, therefore, an embodied one (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012). Understanding the body based on organizational practices is still an incipient field in Organizational Studies (Rezende, Oliveira, & Adorno, 2018), which is why we sought to use the theoretical-empirical study we conducted, and our reflections on its subject, to dialogue with that field. Our aim is thus to contribute to this dialogue by problematizing the production of the researcher body in the spatial experience of the field of empirical research. To this end, we focus on organized spatial experiences that challenge heteronormativity and the cisgender norm as the only practices that confer intelligibility to the relations involving body, gender and sexuality (Bento, 2017; Souza & Parker, 2020).

The hierarchy of bodies in organizations routinely demarcates privileged places with cis, normal, neutral bodies; at the same time, it constantly produces marginalized (non)places with trans, abnormal, abject and tokenized bodies. Organizational research is not immune to these processes, as being in the field is an embedded experience that produces embodied knowledge (Gherardi & Perrota, 2014); the researcher's interpretations and judgments are deeply related to the ability to perceive their body (Bispo & Gherardi, 2019). Nevertheless, the place of the body that assumes the authorship of the research is still naturalized by the myth of the neutral researcher, customarily understood as being male, white, cis and heterosexual (Fonseca, 2007; Grossi, 1992; Oliveira, 2018, 2019).

We understand, therefore, that the researcher body remains invisible. This approach downplays the presence of bodies in discussions about research spatiality and materiality, even though this researcher body is undoubtedly not neutral in the field, as it expresses sexuality and gender, and is also racialized (Oliveira, 2018, 2019). This leads us to realize that this denial of their own presence in the field obscures the practice of the researcher occupying exclusively a privileged place, one who speaks with authority about the lives of others (Clifford, 2008) and whose recognition remains restricted to certain bodies, genders and sexualities normatively recognized. Indeed, we understand that this practice realizes the right of recognition only for bodies that do not escape the norm and that, by reproducing and reinforcing the norm, it creates a kind of barrier to the recognition of those bodies erased or debased by the norm (Butler, 2018), revealing a hierarchical and excluding dynamics in the relations between bodies-in-the-field.

Furthermore, the naturalization of the researcher body around specific bodies, genders and sexualities also results in a disregard for relationships between different (non)hegemonic bodies in the research field. Such practice organizes the silencing of the diverse social relationships and positions existing between researchers and research subjects. Through this political action of conferring imperceptibility on specific bodies, relationships woven in the field – for example, between cis/trans, white/non-white, heterosexual/non-heterosexual people inhabiting the research

space – continue to be unrecognized in their own terms, in their own (non)hegemonic bodies, genders and sexualities (Smith, Higgins, Kokkinidis, & Parker, 2018). These relationships, by not conforming to the field of appearances regulated by particular understandings of science, truth and research, constitute non-places in the field spatiality.

With the exercise in reflection materialized in this article, our objective is to investigate spatiality in ethnographic fieldwork based on the relations of body, gender and sexuality between research subjects and researchers. We therefore adopt a praxeological and performative approach to spatializing, understanding it as a dynamic and relational practice of spatial production based on interactions between humans and non-humans who participate in organizational practices (Vasquez, 2013). We understand, therefore, that spatiality, the ways of producing/practicing space, is manifested from the perspective of the subjects within social contexts in which modes of social interaction and relation organize the lived world (Certeau, 1998), that is, practices that cannot exist without a body. In this sense, in order to address the theoretical problem presented here, which permeates an important ethical and political agenda in research, and which involves breaking with processes that result in theoretical and empirical gaps in research, we seek to problematize the spatiality of research fieldwork by focusing on the meeting between the cis researcher and the travestis and trans research participants.

The reflections we discuss here originated from a research that, at first, did not have the specific theoretical focus of this article, but in which the first author's fieldwork was conducted with a civil society organization in the southeastern region of Brazil. This organization runs the first reference center in the state of Espírito Santo for travesti and trans women, considered the population in which situations of vulnerability are most prevalent among all the components of the LGBTQIA+ community (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and questioning, intersex, asexual or allied and other sexual and gender minority individuals), since they seek nonconforming life possibilities in terms of the regulatory practices that produce coherent identities and truths about gender norms and, therefore, is exposed to a higher risk of objectification, harassment, pathologization and violence than those with bodies considered normal (Butler, 2018). To this end, the two authors of this article revisited reflexively the ethnographic data collected during the researcher's participation as a volunteer in a specific project of the organization, and a corpus was composed as a result of this dialogue.

In the course of this methodological path, we understood that the silencing and hierarchy processes that organize the absent presence of certain bodies in the field entail risks of stigmatizing, objectifying and reifying our understanding of the other. With an ethical and political agenda, we propose, in this article, to discuss the production of visibility of the researcher-body and of the bodies-in-the-field as a possible way to produce knowledge not *about* but *with* specific lives. We thus understand fieldwork as spatially produced in the relations between bodies that interact materially and symbolically. In this sense, the practice of spatializing the fieldwork helps us to situate the body not as a tool, but as a research agent.

SPATIALIZING AS A MATERIAL AND EMBODIED PRACTICE

In this section, we articulate the theoretical framework that underlies our understanding of spatializing practice as material and embodied, an understanding that is the basis of our discussions of the production of bodies-in-the-field. Our starting point is a micropolitical approach to practices, which has its foundations in the theories of Certeau (1998), for whom space is a product of the way it is inhabited and an effect of operations that orient, situate, temporalize and make function the mobile elements of which it is composed, providing intelligibility to the lived world (Certeau, 1998). These operations are the so-called practices, the ways of making of social subjects that are historically, socially and temporally produced, and whose procedural and everyday character rarely marks out well-defined boundaries. Practices organize spaces in networks formed by social experiences resulting from the paths taken by social subjects who, with their bodies, illuminate their ways of making that are cyclically shaped by the trajectories that alter, invent and practice spaces (Certeau, 1998).

Studying space through practices allows us to apprehend organized life in a socially and culturally situated way, based on shared experiences, configuring and materializing social relations, interactions, capacities, precognitive forces, body movements, affective intensities in the encounter (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012). Thus, with this information that situates the spatial organization process and implies (re)thinking space as open and multiple, practiced and everyday, we point out that this article addresses the spatial becoming and the activities that people do together, collectively and socially, in the encounters of the ethnographic fieldwork. In other words, we situate the place from where we perceive and how we perceive what takes place during field research in the socially organized encounter with other people and things, and also how the various research spaces are socially organized, embodied and produced by their own organization. These are the bases of our attempt to problematize the spatial experience of fieldwork, engendered by organized and embodied social relations that constitute the practiced ethnographic world.

In essence, we see our concerns as part of this conceptual panorama in which the apprehension of spatial production practices in organizational research implies situating spatializing – textually represented in its verbal form in order to emphasize the procedural dynamics of the phenomenon – among material practices and, for that very reason, as a performative, varied and embodied practice (Beyes & Steyaert, 2012). These efforts put us in dialogue with studies engaged in disrupting certain assumptions recurrent in organizational theory that are based on the dualistic object/subject, nature/science, body/mind, masculine/feminine logic (Dale, 2000) and in remedying the little attention given to the material and social dimensions in the production of organizational spaces (Fantinel & Davel, 2019; Marrewijk & Yanow, 2010; Weinfurtner & Seidl, 2019).

In this vein, some studies investigate the relevance of the body in action, in different contexts of spatial production, where both the involved bodies and the relations between bodies in the practice of space show how the lived space is significant in practice and can contribute

conceptually to approach the ways in which organization members configure and reconfigure workspaces while carrying out their professional activities (Best & Hindmarsh, 2019; Munro & Jordan, 2013). By examining this spatial dynamics, and conducting a visual reading of the bodily gestures and movements and of the places participants use to determine how they should move in space during meetings with their clients and audiences, these studies corroborate the centrality of the participants' bodies in interaction to the experience in such contexts. In fact, the authors, by not adopting an approach to space limited to architectural aspects, managed to investigate, through embodied practices of space, senses and meanings emerging from spatial arrangements, as well as from bodies and objects, a process underpinned by relations established between those sharing the spatial experience.

The connections we present here make it possible to situate the body in action back in the social space and to understand the varied spatial productions made by the practitioners; social spaces, therefore, are also bodily spaces (Dosse, 2004). For Certeau (1998), the body is a social production through which spaces are constituted. In this sense, we argue that talking about practices is talking about the body. This understanding allows us to say that organization is constituted in a spatialized way and that any act of organizing is an act of creating a space for human action (Dale & Burrell, 2007; Hernes, 2004). It is the performative occurrence of spatializing that points to an ontological approach according to which reality is fluid and continuously transformed, where movement gains centrality, as it is always present in the inhabited space. More than that, actually: it is a practice that is constituted in the presence of the body in the spatial organization, questioning how bodies "do what they do" and "what doing does" (Gherardi, 2009).

In addition to the specific contexts of the empirical research, the studies cited above call our attention to many other practices through which the involved parts organize their bodies together with each other in order to establish the dynamics of the organizational space. In our reflections, we chose to take a step back and discuss not a specific empirical context, in which one of us conducted ethnographic fieldwork, but to use this experience to discuss the very constitution of the field in organizational research, when different relationships between "bodies-in-the-field" can reveal the dynamics of the production of spatial experience. Among these dynamics, we chose to focus on practices of production of differences and inequalities in spaces, with special attention to the gender dimension, as will be explained in the next section.

SPATIALIZING GENDERED BODIES IN ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICE

In conducting the ethnographic fieldwork that served as the basis for these reflections, our aim was to discuss the production of space in a specific organizational context. A context in which the flow of the fieldwork (Cavedon, 2014) reveals unexpected dimensions, as will be discussed later in this article. We understand such dimensions – which situate socially and historically bodies, genders and sexualities, and problematize heteronormativity as the underlying logic of what is

naturalized in spatial production – as insufficiently addressed in the hegemonic literature on organizational space. There is little discussion about the fact that these bodies that spatialize and are spatialized are not neutral: they occupy places and non-places for reasons related to gender and sexuality, as well as to race (Rezende et al., 2018; Tyler & Cohen, 2010). We sought therefore to overcome limits to achieve an understanding that involves a situated rationality and an intelligibility specific to the corresponding relations between body, gender and sexuality (Bento, 2017; Souza & Parker, 2020).

In Organizational Studies, this approach becomes relevant insofar as gender, sexuality and race are social categories that constitute a material and symbolic practice of constituting social relations in the everyday life of organizations (Oliveira, 2018), a situation that becomes even more exacerbated when relationships are established in the field with people who express genders and sexualities that escape the norms (Oliveira, 2020).

Theorizations of research spatialities, therefore, leave gaps: first, by disregarding body/gender/sexuality in spatial production, where the researcher body remains invisible; second, by not questioning heteronormativity as the underlying logic of what is naturalized in spatial production. This limitation can be explained by the already addressed loss of critical power of the practice lens in scientific productions that disregard that the relationality between the social world and materiality with different modes of action has a political character, since the performance of social subjects is interconnected with the logics arising from circumstances external to them, thus reproducing a situated rationality within the confines of normative standards or subverting it through new productions (Gherardi, 2009; Oliveira, 2018, 2021).

With these limitations, it is not difficult to agree with Thanem (2011) when the author warns organizational scholars not to forget that the body acts in these situations in the face of hegemonic normative social standards. Nor with Rezende et al. (2018), when they claim that understanding the body on the basis of organizational practices still represents an incipient field in Organizational Studies. This is why, based on the reflections we engaged in when conducting a theoretical-empirical study, we sought to dialogue with this field, in order to think about organized experiences that challenge both heteronormativity and cisgender norms as the only practices that confer intelligibility to the corresponding relationships between body, gender and sexuality (Bento, 2017; Souza & Parker, 2020).

It is important to emphasize here that we understand heteronormativity as a set of dispositions (discourses, values, practices) through which heterosexuality is instituted and experienced as the only natural and legitimate possibility of expression (Warner, 1993). These dispositions compose an arsenal that regulates not only sexuality but also gender. Heteronormative dispositions are aimed at naturalizing, imposing, sanctioning, promoting and legitimizing a single sex-gender-sexuality scheme: that centered on heterosexuality and strictly regulated by gender norms (Butler & Trouble, 1990), which, underpinned by an ideology of sexual dimorphism, has a structuring effect on social relationships.

With respect to cisgenderism, in turn, we emphasize that various trans activists and transfeminist movements have already argued that the cisgender norm is one of the normative

foundations of cultural, social and political practices that produce expectations regarding the universalization of human experience (Leal, 2018; Nascimento, 2021; Simakawa, 2015). The notion of a cisgender norm, proposed by researcher Julia Serano (2016), materializes in a system of constant oppression that forces the gendering of the lived world, that is, that forces everyone to identify themselves and be easily recognizable by the male/female binary world, and which is organized around a cis presumption, allowing cis privilege to proliferate, albeit in an invisible way, because it is naturalized (Serano, 2016).

That said, we sought to respond to and reinforce the invitation to think of the body as matter (Breton, 2002; Shilling, 2003), since, despite the fact that certain bodies lack specific representations, their existence as a material reality is undeniable (Preciado, 2020). For example, travestis bodies are not represented as professional administrators or leaders of organizations and, even when performing such activities, they are often made invisible by suppliers, banks, customers, etc. During fieldwork, the first author collected a report from the studied organization's leader:

> people don't believe that I, a travesti, lead the projects here at Gold. I do accounting, finance work, I do business with the bank, I [handle] human resources for the Association, Gold doesn't have an accountant, a manager [that has] the figure of a man, nor of a cis person. It's me, a travesti! They do not accept that a travesti occupies this place.

Given such material reality, we argue that understanding spatializing implies recognizing it in its procedural, material and embodied aspects, which presupposes situating this practice in its imbrications with phenomena inscribed in bodies, such as gender and sexuality, which, despite being the focus of this article, are certainly not restricted to these two dimensions.

In this sense, these dimensions have already been empirically evidenced as agents in spatial production, since the knowledge about one's own sexuality embodied in the employees of an organization is an integral part of how workspaces are experienced and negotiated (Riach & Wilson, 2014). Since spaces are produced in experiences shared by subjects (such as clients and employees, for example), modes of interaction, intentions and effects get confused, mixed and can reveal tensions related to sexuality and other particular orientations that affect the dynamics of space occupation (Riach & Wilson, 2014).

Moreover, it is worth noting that the spatial production of gender is permeated by naturalized, segregating and/or exclusionary relations experienced by certain particular bodies in organizations. These relations are not restricted to the symbolic level, but have a marked presence in the material reality; an instance of this is the configuration of bathrooms in organizations, which naturalizes, in most cases, the convention of a male/female binary separation. Spatial organization, in this case, presents itself as if non-cisgender people (those who do not identify with the biological sex assigned and determined at birth, or who prefer not to have their gender assigned) simply do not exist. This example illustrates how spatial arrangements guide gender separations and exclusions and reveals the patterns of our everyday, repetitive organization of the body in space, allowing us to investigate both the way we relate to each other through socially and historically ordered gender categories and how space is an integral part of this organization (Skoglund & Holt, 2020).

Understanding the practice of spatializing sexualized and gendered bodies in organizations has helped us to gain important insights in our investigation of the different relations experienced in organizational research, which leads us to adopt in our study a critical point of view regarding more orthodox approaches in Organizational Studies, shaped by rationalist and cognitivist assumptions. Through this critical approach, which allows for the investigation of the relationality between the social world and materiality, we can reveal the differences and inequalities in the spatial experiences of different bodies, genders and sexualities in the field.

We defend therefore a spatial analysis that, instead of silencing the hegemonic heteronormative cis spatial standard, considered neutral and correct, takes another path: first, by acting to make visible, reveal and understand the researcher body as a constitutive element of this mode of cis production of the fieldwork space. Next, by highlighting spatial production practices that challenge heteronormativity and the cisgender norm as the only practices that confer intelligibility to the corresponding relations between body, gender and sexuality in organizational research, in a movement in which different material relations between bodies-in-the-field are evidenced.

In following this path, we relied fundamentally on our reflections arising from field experiences during an ethnographic research conducted by the first author of this article with an organization composed of individuals engaged in spatial practices aimed at breaking with the spatial violence of gender and sexuality. However, despite the fact that these discussions originated from an ethnographic research, we would rather that the dialogue we propose here do not remain restricted to ethnographic fieldwork production, as we understand that the concerns addressed here are not limited to the ethnographic work. In this sense, we emphasize that our reflections lead us to broaden our approach to fieldwork production, understanding it as spatially produced in the relationships between bodies that interact materially and symbolically. We discerned the connections we discuss here through the practice of spatializing the fieldwork, an approach that helps us to situate the body not as a tool, but as a research agent.

SPATIALIZING BODIES-IN-THE-FIELD IN ETHNOGRAPHIC WORK: REFLECTIONS ARISING FROM AN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Ethnographic work permeates a kind of research that aims to cause a reconfiguration of the hegemonic *narratives* themselves, in order to "make/unmake the opposition between the self and the other, to construct/deconstruct the exotic-familiar dichotomy," which contribute so much to the perpetuation of these hierarchies (Fonseca, 2007, p. 49). This is not possible by denying differences and asymmetries in the encounter with others, requiring instead a reflexive exercise of recognizing differences and studying the complex ways in which these differences intersect (Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 1990). This makes us think that the representation of "artificial man" – universal, white, masculine, disciplined – is related to studies on organizations and management (Gatens, 1996; Souza, Costa, & Pereira, 2015) as the search for researcher neutrality in the fieldwork is related to ethnographic methods.

It was with this concern in mind that we made use of the ethnographic encounters and experiences of the first author of this article with a civil society organization located in southeastern Brazil, called *Grupo Orgulho, Liberdade e Dignidade – GOLD* (Pride, Liberty and Dignity Group). This association, led by a travesti, has as its mission the promotion and defense of Human Rights. Although the research is still in progress, for this text we focused on a specific period of fieldwork, between the last quarter of 2019 and the first quarter of 2020, when a series of meetings were being held to develop a project called "*Aconchego*" (Coziness) and the researcher in the field was present in that space as both a volunteer citizen and a researcher. Among its activities, the project aimed to provide a welcoming space for trans people in a situation of vulnerability, a place where they could simply stay safely and comfortable to spend the afternoons, access the internet, study, etc.

The space included a room with sofas, cushions, rugs and colorful armchairs; a trans pride flag hanging on a wall; a bookcase with a book collection aimed at fostering the appreciation and recognition of and the respect for trans and travesti identities and expressions. A second room, more reserved, contained a table, three chairs and books, and was intended for meetings between the population served and the professionals participating in the project, necessarily involved with LGBTQIA+ activism and with the travesti and trans cause, namely a white non-binary psychologist and a Black social worker. The project aimed to meet the most diverse demands, such as providing information on the process of name and gender rectification, as well as on other rights necessary for the full exercise of citizenship; providing testing for sexually transmitted diseases; holding educational workshops and support group meetings; assisting family members; even supplying basic food baskets and distributing donated clothes for those in situations of greater vulnerability.

The meetings at GOLD allowed the researcher in the field to recognize similarities with other bodies-in-the-field, destabilizing false cultural agreements according to which cis and trans people are believed to be somewhat different from each other. Moreover, this allowed the researcher to gain access to body practices used for trans expression or concealment (often by referring to the travesti identity, for example, during meetings some would say things such as "Come here, travesti! It's the travesti who'll decide!;" or by breaking with masculine words, constantly altering and inflecting them for gender, as in "*essa* corpa *não me define*" (this body does not define me), in which the masculine noun "*corpo*" (body) is replaced with a novel feminine form – "*corpa*" – or in "*bom dia a* todes" (good morning everyone), in which the masculine and feminine forms "*todos*" and "*todas*" are replaced with the novel neutral form "*todes*," in a logic of invention of non-binary words; in addition to other uses of the body, as in wearing male and female clothing and accessories with no concern for the sex-gender-sexuality scheme, trans women with a beard, trans men with makeup, non-binary female or male person) and recognize himself as a historical subject who, as an effeminate homosexual man, since childhood also developed his ways of expressing/disguising/hiding behaviors and standards socially interpreted as feminine.

In this movement of seeking the other, the researcher sometimes eventually found himself (Grossi, 1992). On the other hand, and at the same time, even though it was possible to recognize commonalities among the bodies-in-the-field, certain feelings of oddness were already perceptible in the first meeting with the social project's travesti coordinator, reinforcing that "foreignness does not start at the water's edge but at the skin's" (Geertz, 1999, p. 21). The researcher recorded in his field diaries that, in one of the first face-to-face meetings with the project leader, he found it strange and had difficulties to naturalize the fact that the organization's main activities were carried out by a travesti, whether they be administrative tasks, fundraising or the search for other forms of support from entrepreneurs and national and international institutions; and also that that travesti body occupied the institution's presidency, directing more than 10 ongoing projects.

Another feeling of oddness occurred during a voluntary service activity carried out with trans people, when the researcher felt embarrassed during an exchange of glances with a trans woman, which generated an intrusive thought that sexualized the gendered body of that woman, followed by a reflexive exercise: "I think she is desiring me as a man and seducing me. Oops! Stop! You cannot forget that the fact that she is a trans woman does not imply sexual desire for another man, not even for a gay man, since gender and sexuality are concepts that cannot be confused," which immediately led the researcher to remember the limits of judgment, as in Butler's (2015) argument that "recognition cannot be reduced to making and delivering judgments about others" (p. 63). These internal processes required from the researcher in the field the exercise of self-reflection about his position as a cis researcher and the risks he would face of reproducing unequal social processes and relations that privilege some and continually subjugate others, causing situations of abjection during the fieldwork.

We understand, therefore, that understanding these processes contributes to understand spatializing as a material and embodied practice that, being the subject of reflection during fieldwork, makes it possible to reflect on the production of bodies-in-the-field, an expression that situates the researcher and the research subjects not as beings that have bodies, but that are bodies (Flores-Pereira, Davel, & Almeida, 2017) and are also agents active in the research context. We highlight, with the hyphenation, the procedural character of the production of such bodies in the research context, that is, in the spatializing of the field.

Immersion in fieldwork also allowed us to understand how interactions with other people in the organization affect and are affected by expressions or concealments of trans personification, and the feelings and bodily experiences that arise when bodies express or hide transgenderism in the interaction with others in organizational space. In the same vein, participating as a volunteer embedded in this reality directed the researcher's gaze to certain spatial aspects, such as materialities, interactions and uses of bodies, which enabled a process of denaturalization of conventional organizational practices permeated by cis heteronormative logics and interdicted materialities.

These relational dynamics refute ontological principles of coexistence in the field, and, in contact with differences, highlight ethical aspects and a "political work" that, although they can be discussed in relation to ethnographic work (Oliveira, 2020; Schwade, 1992), are not

exclusive to ethnographies. This point was addressed by Oliveira (2018) when she presented an account of her fieldwork in a multi-situated study conducted in Brazil and Canada situating herself as a black female ethnographer, which made it possible to highlight how race influences manifest themselves spatially organized in ethnographic research experiences. In support of her argument, Oliveira reports everyday racist practices that reproduce stigmas, segregation and the occupation dynamics of different spaces that, in various situations involving the research participants, highlight the fact that a researcher being black influences how research is conducted in organizations, revealing how the materiality of race was manifested daily in the space of ethnographic production. In the same vein, Grossi (1992) argues that this process of construction of the ethnographic field and production of the ethnographic text is influenced by the construction and social positioning of researchers, illustrating this social positioning through a gender approach.

This scenario clearly shows us the importance of highlighting the ethical and political character of fieldwork-based scientific production. This awareness materialized for us during fieldwork with trans people in a process of self-knowledge and remembrance, in which the article's first author recalled some of his own spatial experiences as a child whose behavior was read as effeminate, with enormous potential for gender transgression, as a male teenager seen as "sensitive" and therefore marked as different, and as a gay adult whose masculinity was seen as lacking in various spaces (including organizational ones), but who has learned gender performativity in a heteronormative manner to the point of being capable of expressing social neutrality, maintaining the convenience and acceptability of a "normal" man in other spaces. In this way, in the encounters with the research participants, but also due to what he experienced and could not experience, amid bridges and walls, the fieldwork trajectory made visible a network of spatial practices, both cis heteronormative and trans(gressives).

In this sense, we emphasize that Certeau's theoretical framework is fundamental for providing a micropolitical lens that allows us to understand the social dynamics spatialized in situated and circumstantial power relations. Fieldwork evidenced the ephemeral and destabilized character of spatial production, as well as of the production of the "other." Note that, for Certeau, place and space, both own and other, are always being produced, since they lack any fixed or a priori position. We are interested here in the destabilizations and subversions that open to us the multiple possibilities of occupying place and space, of constructing ourselves as we are or as another.

Finally, the field experience that generated such reflections was made up of ethnographic encounters permeated by gender relations, allowing us to understand how gendered, sexualized and embodied relations between cis and trans people are part of the spatiality experienced in a context of organizational field research. We sought to demarcate contexts that make (in)visible certain social – and therefore cultural – relations by investigating unequal places where spaces, organizational practices and bodies are engendered as a possible path for the production of knowledge, which, in the empirical research described here, revealed situations involving cis bodies considered neutral and trans or travestis bodies, which carry marks distinguishing them

from reference standards and whose predominant representations only affirm their existence "as a specimen belonging to a taxonomy of deviation that ought to be corrected," lacking adequate references in city spaces, media spaces and even in spaces of citizenship (Preciado, 2020, p. 224). It is thus empirically evidenced that the spatializing of the field is constituted in recognizably hierarchical gender relations, which in the case of the research we discuss here involved travestis and trans people, but which is not limited to this specific context.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this article, in which we bring reflections that were provoked by and arose during the first author's field experience, we aimed to discuss how relations involving the researcher's body, gender and sexuality, in this case a gay, cis man, influence the spatiality of fieldwork in ethnographic research. To this end, we problematized the spatializing of the ethnographic field in the encounter between researcher and research participants, highlighting the dynamics of gender-body-sexuality expressions in this process through what we call production of bodies-in-the-field. Following this path, we argued that is fundamental to understand spatializing as a material and embodied practice, and we aimed to highlight the fact that the – situated and gendered – bodies are agents active in the research.

Based on this material, embodied and interconnected understanding, our reflexive effort is aimed at breaking with previous judgments or representations and at producing spaces of recognition for all practitioner bodies and practices that, together, establish the organizational space dynamics and institute an ethical and political agenda that emerges at the limits of our intelligibility schemes. This is a space of reflexivity, where, in the context of ethnographic research, we ask ourselves how to dialogue and recognize when we find ourselves in a situation of producing research not about the other, but with the other.

Exploring research spatiality alternatives to a neutral, hegemonic – and also cis and heteronormative – scheme is relevant for Organizational Studies insofar as body, gender and sexuality are constituted as spatial, material and symbolic practices that engender social relations in the everyday life of organizations, these "are spaces that matter" in ethnographic research production (Oliveira, 2018; Tyler & Cohen, 2010). These are relevant questions, since these social categories determine the position researchers and subjects have in the field (Musante & DeWalt, 2010), and that become even more important not only in ethnographic work, but in some way also in qualitative approaches in general, which are known to promote greater engagement of researchers in fieldwork, and emerge as a central dimension in ethnographic work, since it takes social relations themselves as its lived world (Grossi, 1992).

Bearing these goals in mind, we join efforts with those who seek to deconstruct the myth of researcher neutrality, thus implying the political character of fieldwork, whose context is part of the ethnographer's socio-historical constitution and can serve as a heuristic tool in research analyzes (Grossi, 1992; Oliveira, 2018). We argue that this effort to deconstruct the myths around

ethnographic research and the ethnographer expresses an ethical commitment to unveil certain processes and relationships in the construction of the fieldwork space, to accept responsibility for what we do and say and to be self-reflexive about our position and relations in the field (Cunliffe, 2016; Cunliffe & Karunanayake, 2013).

This is an inherently unpredictable effort to face the oddness and the constant surprise, which may lead to a crisis of the credible, a movement of breaking with customary standards of reference, values, thoughts and actions (Ferraço, Soares, & Alves, 2017). This is an ethical practice, as Butler (2015) argues, "it may be that only through an experience of the other under conditions of suspended judgment do we finally become capable of an ethical reflection on the humanity of the other" (p. 64). We also argue, therefore, that conducting research (and spatializing) together with the other within an ethical agenda implies recognition of the other; in this case, this means allowing oneself to practice with bodies-in-the-field, a movement of opening oneself to otherness and reflexivity.

To that end, during fieldwork, we return to and articulate our concerns with Certeau's (1998) theorizations, considering the subjects in their everyday life as practitioners (would they be ordinary bodies?), which implies capturing them not in essence, but in acts, relations and interactions. This study focuses on everyday practices of reflection, not of cis people about trans people, but with cis and trans people, in order to understand the lived world of production of knowledge, not only theoretical but also methodological, and the production of social life in different contexts, believing that the researcher's attitude in the field makes all the difference, in the sense of building bridges with informants, highlighting the importance of reflexivity not only in ethnography, but in research in general.

Along this path through spatiality and materiality, we have developed conceptually the notion of spatiality with bodies-in-the-field, which reflects a research attitude involving reflexive practices of breaking with the denial, invisibility, abjection and stigmatization of bodies, genders and sexualities. Spaces inhabited by bodies-in-the-field allow us to discover inequalities in spatial experiences, material and representational injustices, as well as forms of exclusion. Moreover, they materialize the right to recognition for bodies, genders and sexualities seen as deviating from hegemonic norms, extending visibility to less hierarchical and less exclusionary spatial dynamics.

We highlight, with this effort, a research agenda that promotes the opening of more ethical avenues, as well as of paths for the investigation of less violent modes of spatial organization in organizational research, which is concerned with the inherent complexity of lived experiences not restricted to normative standards and with ways of fostering dialogue with and recognition of different bodies-in-the-field, thus expanding the possibilities of organizational practice. This effort points to an urgent and necessary task of shaking up the hegemonic research practices that have been accepted as valid in methodological terms and that support the maintenance of cis-heteronormative (but also male, white, without disabilities) research without leaving any opening to divergent spaces, in terms of the bodily, sexual, gender and racial relations practiced while conducting a research.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

Romulo Gomes and Letícia Dias Fantinel worked on the conceptualization and theoretical methodological approach.
The theoretical review was conducted by the authors Romulo Gomes and Letícia Dias Fantinel. Data collection was coordinated by Romulo Gomes. Romulo Gomes and Letícia Dias Fantinel participated in the data analysis. Romulo Gomes and Letícia Dias Fantinel participated in the writing and final review of the manuscript.

ARTICLES

THE MEDIATING ROLE OF JOB SATISFACTION BETWEEN QUALITY IN WORK FACTORS AND WORK ENGAGEMENT

El papel mediador de la satisfacción laboral entre la calidad en los factores del trabajo y el compromiso laboral

O papel mediador da satisfação no trabalho entre a qualidade dos fatores de trabalho e o comprometimento com o trabalho

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the relationship between quality in work factors (QWF) and work engagement (WE) with a mediating role of job satisfaction (JS). A quantitative cross-sectional methodology was used. The sample consisted of 234 bank employees. Data were analyzed with technique structural equation modeling. Results revealed that JS is a total mediator between QWF and WE. The evidence indicates that QWF is an antecedent of WE in the banking sector, but engagement will be increased when banking employees as well are satisfied with their jobs. The overall level of JS and WE was high because bank employees perceive quality on responsibility, feedback, wage, and social support as work factors. This study presents a scope of results limited to the north-central region of Mexico.

Keywords: quality in work factors, work engagement, job satisfaction, banking sector, mediation.

RESUMEN

El propósito de este documento es analizar la relación entre la calidad en los factores del trabajo (CFT) y el compromiso laboral (CL) con un rol mediador de la satisfacción laboral (SL). Se utilizó una metodología cuantitativa transversal. La muestra estuvo conformada por 234 empleados bancarios. Los datos fueron analizados con la técnica de ecuaciones estructurales. Los resultados revelaron que la SL es un mediador total entre la CFT y el CL. La evidencia indica que la CFT es un antecedente del CL en el sector bancario, pero el compromiso aumentará cuando los empleados bancarios también estén satisfechos con su trabajo. El nivel general de SL y CL fue alto porque los empleados bancarios perciben calidad en la responsabilidad, retroalimentación, salario y apoyo social como factores del trabajo. Este estudio presenta un alcance de los resultados limitado a la región centro-norte de México.

Palabras clave: *calidad en los factores del trabajo, compromiso laboral, satisfacción laboral, sector bancario, mediación.*

RESUMO

O objetivo deste documento é analisar a relação entre os fatores de qualidade no trabalho (FQT) e o comprometimento do trabalho (CT) com um papel mediador da satisfação no trabalho (ST). Uma metodologia quantitativa transversal foi utilizada. A amostra foi composta por 234 funcionários de bancos. Os dados foram analisados com a técnica de equações estruturais. Os resultados revelaram que a ST é um mediador total entre os FQT e o CT. As evidências indicam que os FQT são um precedente para o CT no setor bancário, mas o comprometimento aumentará quando os bancários também estiverem satisfeitos com seu trabalho. O nível geral de ST e CT foi alto porque os funcionários do banco percebem a qualidade na responsabilidade, feedback, salário e apoio social como fatores de trabalho. Este estudo apresenta um escopo de resultados limitado à região centro-norte do México.

Palavras-chave: *qualidade no trabalho, fatores, compromisso no trabalho, satisfação no trabalho, setor bancário, mediação.*

INTRODUCTION

The banking sector in Mexico is a sector that has been little studied with respect to labor conditions, as a consequence of the policies established by financial groups. Particularly, banking plays a role of special interest within the services classification by being the driver of the economies of nations (Sarangal & Nargotra, 2017). It is noteworthy that globalization in the banking sector generated a new scenario for its employees, involving adaptation to constant processes of innovation, competitiveness and user demands (Sarangal & Nargotra, 2017) that go hand in hand with emerging labor adjustments that make the correct management of work engagement (WE) necessary (Hernández, 2013). For Mexico, studying the topic is relevant in two ways; first, because the transformations of the banking system led to the modification of labor policies adapting them to the needs of globalized banking (Gallardo, Ángeles, & Neme, 2011), and second, because no empirical evidence was found in the Mexican context to provide information that could serve as a guide to improve WE in banking.

This research is developed with a WE business case perspective that seeks to explain how employee well-being can contribute to the success of service organizations. In such organizations, WE is a key element for the achievement of their objectives (Nawrin, 2018), since employees, through their attitudes, reflect the organizational image, influencing customer decisions (Nguyen, Nguyen, Ngo, & Nguyen, 2019), and the attractiveness for future collaborators (Hinojosa & Cogco, 2020). Additionally, it is a topic of particular interest to organizations (Gheitani, Imani, Seyyedamiri, & Foroudi, 2019) because it contributes to financial success (Harunavamwe, Nel, & Zyl, 2020), decreases early intentions to leave a job (Karatepe, Ozturk, & Kim 2019), and has positive effects on job performance and customer loyalty (Nguyen et al., 2019; Salanova, Agut, & Peiro, 2005). Engaging with their jobs also generates benefits for employees, such as a sense of achievement and self-fulfillment, although research on this is limited (Lee & Ok, 2016).

Recently, employers have paid more attention to factors that are antecedent and consequence of WE because disengaged employees are costly to an organization (Rayton & Yalabik, 2014). Previous research found that a person's commitment results from his or her perceptions about the benefits or security that the job can give him or her (Kahn, 1990), and that work motivation is favored by the psychological state that is generated as a consequence of the characteristics of the job (Hackman & Oldham, 1980). Therefore, this research believes that quality perceptions about work factors could be predictors of WE.

Recent literature argues that job satisfaction (JS) is a predictor of WE (Garg, Dar, & Mishra, 2018; Pieters, 2018; Sarangal & Nargotra, 2017). For example, Yalabik, Rayton, and Rapti (2017) indicate that JS influences WE through the employee's emotional evaluation of the fulfillment of his or her work needs and, when the evaluation is positive, it becomes a stimulating motivator of commitment to work. According to the bifactor theory of Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman (1959), there are elements of work such as responsibility, feedback, salary, and social support that integrate the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of the worker, which, when perceived as positive elements, allow a favorable interpretation of quality in work factors (QWF), favoring JS.

Considering the context of the Mexican labor market, the National Occupation and Employment Survey positions professions related to finance, banking and insurance as those with the best salaries (Observatorio Laboral, 2019) [Labor Observatory], so this research believes that banking employment in Mexico can be considered as a better provider of employment quality with respect to other jobs; however, the literature review mentions that to achieve a high WE it is necessary that the employee also be satisfied with his or her job (Radosevich, Radosevich, Riddle, & Hughes, 2008).

According to the above approach showing a link between QWF and JS, with WE, the following research questions are generated: Does QWF influence the WE of bank employees in Mexico? Can JS mediate the effects between QWF and WE? Based on these questions, this research aims to analyze the relationship between QWF and WE with the mediating role of JS.

This study begins with a literature review and presentation of previous research showing the relationships suggested in the model. Next, the methodological framework was described, including the technique, sample, and measurements. Lastly, the results were explained, followed by discussion and research conclusions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section describes the study variables and explains the role they play in the proposed theoretical model.

Work Engagement

WE is a work-related affective-cognitive state (Schaufeli, Bakker, & Salanova, 2006), involving a psychological connection of the employee to his or her task and the investment of physical, emotional, and cognitive resources resulting from work motivation (Christian, Garza, & Slaughter, 2011). WE allows the development of an emotional bond between the employee and the work context that incentivizes the effort to carry out their activities (Lu, Lu, Gursoy, & Neale, 2016). It is made up of determination (investing high energy and effort), dedication (higher than standard participation) and absorption (remaining fully concentrated) (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004; Schaufeli et al., 2006). Recent studies in the banking context have found evidence that WE receives positive effects of self-leadership, job integration, and psychological resources (Harunavamwe et al., 2020); psychosocial safety (Tagoe & Amponsah-Tawiah, 2020); job cognition (Nguyen et al., 2019); high-performance work systems and resilience (Cooke, Cooper, Bartram, Wang & Mei, 2016); family support and self-efficacy (Karatepe et al., 2019); personal, work and organizational resources (Nawrin, 2018); and JS (Garg, Dar & Mishra, 2018). Additionally, it is argued that WE increases performance and decreases intentions to change jobs (Karatepe et al., 2019; Lathabhavan, Balasubramanian, & Natarajan, 2017). Other research suggests that perceptions of QWF positively influence WE, so the following section describes the findings identified.

Quality in Work Factors and Work Engagement

QWF happens when the employee perceives that his or her work needs have been met (Lee, Back, & Chan, 2015). According to Herzberg (1966), work is composed of motivational and hygiene factors; motivational factors are based on satisfying the employee's psychological growth needs (Zhang, Yao, & Cheong, 2011), and hygiene factors seek to contribute to work-associated needs (Sledge, Miles, & Coppage, 2008).

Work motivational factors include responsibility (Herzberg, 1966) and feedback (Morris & Venkatesh, 2010). Responsibility is the degree to which an employee is charged with attending to an objective (Sledge et al., 2008). In frontline jobs, responsibility involves meeting customer requirements, which can create a challenge and motivate the employee to focus on the job (Karatepe, Beirami, Bouzari, & Safavi, 2014). Studies in the hospitality industry have found a positive effect of responsibility to WE in frontline employees (Karatepe et al., 2014). In another context, previous results showed that student responsibility is a predictor of the WE of academics (Capri, Gunduz, & Akbay, 2017). Conversely, evidence in health care employees did not support the effect between job responsibility and WE (Carlo, Corso, Falco, Girardi, & Piccirelli, 2016).

Feedback represents the amount of information provided to the employee regarding his or her job performance (Katsikea, Theodosiou, Perdikis, & Kehagias, 2011). When feedback is provided, the employee knows his or her degree of advancement in the organization and can work on his or her skills generating greater work effectiveness; similarly, when feedback comes with managerial support the employee's WE is maintained (Sommer & Kulkarni, 2012). In this regard, previous research has reported that when employees have sufficient resources to receive feedback, greater WE is generated (Breevaart, Bakker, & Demerouti, 2014). Other results indicate that bank managers found in feedback a means to inform their employees of the strengths and weaknesses performed, creating a stimulus in the employee to make more effort and consequently improve WE (Ahmed, Kura, Umrani, & Pahi, 2020).

Furthermore, salary and social support are factors of hygiene at work (Herzberg, 1966). To analyze them, reference is made to the contributions of Chiang and Wu (2014), which indicate that employees are internal customers of the organization, who are offered an intra-organizational service characterized by the way in which the work is carried out, and when they perform a service positively, the employee perceives quality. In this sense, the literature shows that employees make comparisons between their salaries and those of reference groups (Kifle, 2014), either of co-workers, their own salaries from previous periods (Grund & Rubin, 2017), or of similar positions in the job market (Grund & Sliwka, 2007). In addition, Farndale and Murrer (2015) claim that in groups such as the Mexican population, financial rewards are important because they provide security. Likewise, previous research has found that an employee's effort improves when he or she receives an efficient salary (Goldsmith, Veum, & Darity, 2000). A study conducted in a multinational financial services organization found that giving high financial rewards favors engagement and, specifically, the relationship was stronger in Mexican respondents (Farndale

& Murrer, 2015). In this sense, in this research it is expected that through these comparisons, the employee will evaluate the quality of the internal service provided by the organization.

Finally, social support is a factor that can make work an interesting experience (Lambert, Minor, Wells, & Hogan, 2016). Working with friendly people enables the strengthening of good relationships among co-workers (Alegre, Mas-Machuca, & Berbegal-Mirabent, 2016), increasing participation (Lambert et al., 2016) through teamwork (Alegre et al., 2016). The relationship between social support and WE has recently been proven; for example, the results of Kiema-Junes et al. (2020) showed that social support received from supervisors, co-workers and family influenced WE. In particular, social support was the strongest predictor for employee dedication and determination. Similarly, Nasurdin, Ling, and Khan's (2018) findings showed that perceptions of supervisor support were the strongest predictor of WE, and support received from co-workers and the organization were also important determinants of WE.

As the above evidence suggests, when employees perceive QWF they show higher WE, thus:

H1: Perceived quality in work factors is a positive predictor of work engagement.

Mediating role of Job Satisfaction

JS is the positive result of an employee's evaluation of the elements involved in the job based on his or her work experience (Locke, 1969). When the employee perceives that their expectations about job characteristics have been met, they experience satisfaction with their job (Knapp, Smith, & Sprinkle, 2017). Previous research regarding the relationship between quality and JS has analyzed various job factors, for example, in private banking QWF was found to influence perceptions of JS (Dhamija, Gupta, & Bag, 2019). Other authors found that empowering decision-making and receiving social support were job characteristics that were positively associated with the JS of bank employees (Cambre, Kippers, Veldhoven, & Witte, 2012). Moreover, having a higher salary increase than the reference group improves JS (Diriwaechter & Shvartsman, 2018); conversely, previous evidence indicates that woman financial services managers in banking and insurance institutions were dissatisfied with receiving lower salaries than their male co-workers in similar positions (Tlaiss, 2013). Finally, feedback is another work factor that has shown positive effects on JS by mitigating the negative effects originating from role ambiguity (Jong, 2016).

There is currently a discussion in the literature regarding the causal order between JS and WE (Yalabik, Popaitoon, Chowne, & Rayton, 2013). On the one hand, some studies show that highly engaged employees are characterized by being more immersed and dedicated to their work as a consequence of how challenging and inspiring it is, thus triggering higher JS (Karanika-Murray, Duncan, Pontes, & Griffiths, 2015; Lu et al., 2016); and on the other, previous evidence also indicates that WE is an active state that is strongly influenced by employees' JS (Butakor, Guo, & Adebanji, 2021; Voki & Hernaus, 2015). In this sense, this research suggests JS as a predictor

of WE by considering that engagement arises as a consequence of the emotional evaluation made by the employee about the satisfaction of their work needs (Yalabik et al., 2017). Following this trend, evidence indicates that satisfied employees are more committed to their work, with intrinsic satisfaction (e.g., responsibility and feedback) generating the highest motivation in WE (Garg et al., 2018). Other researchers reviewed the predictive ability of intrinsic and extrinsic JS with the determination and dedication dimensions of WE, finding that intrinsic satisfaction is a predictor of determination and dedication, while extrinsic JS (e.g., salary and social support) only showed significant effects for dedication (Pieters, 2018).

In general, previous evidence points out that when the employee perceives that his or her work expectations have been met (quality), on the one hand, the employee could develop higher WE, and, on the other hand, could experience positive feelings towards work (JS) which, in turn, can incentivize WE. In this sense, JS could exert a mediating role between QWF perceptions and WE (Figure 1).

Given these arguments, this research proposes the following:

H2: Perceived quality in work factors is a positive predictor of job satisfaction.

H3: Job satisfaction is a positive predictor of work engagement.

H4: Job satisfaction is a mediator in the relationship between quality in work factors and work engagement.

Figure 1. Theoretical model of mediation

Source: elaborated by the author

Notes: The solid line shows the direct effects between the explanatory variables and the dependent variable. The dotted line shows the general model of mediation
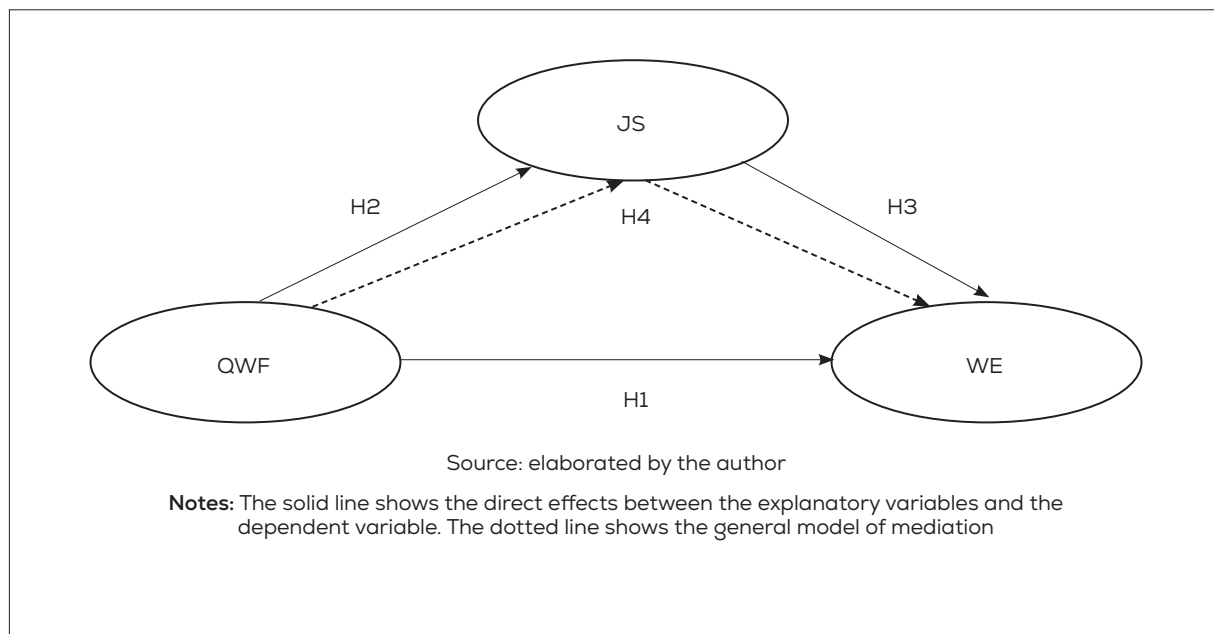
METHODOLOGY

Sample and Procedure

The participants were bank employees from nine financial groups belonging to the commercial banking sector located in north-central Mexico. The sample consisted of employees with direct contact with customers and with at least one year of seniority. These characteristics were chosen because the most engaged employees are those who have frequent contact with customers (Karatepe, Yavas, Babakus, & Deitz, 2018) and because, according to the approaches of this research, a bank employee needs to have had the opportunity to assess perceptions of quality from his or her experience on the job. The data were collected by two researchers using a paper questionnaire; the procedure consisted of obtaining the authorization of the branch manager and then explaining the structure of the instrument to each participant in their personal workspaces, the approximate response time being 15 minutes. The branches and employees were selected through stratified random sampling with proportional allocation, obtaining a requirement of 295 observations. The stratification was based on records from the National Statistical Directory of Economic Units. This type of sampling was used because the only public information available on the employment of bank personnel in Mexico is the classification of strata by number of personnel employed in each bank branch; personal data was not included, so they were assigned an identification number. The questionnaires were distributed in 106 bank branches; 245 questionnaires were complete, but only 234 met the Mahalanobis criterion with which the presence of outliers was identified (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2014), representing a response rate of 79.32%. Table I presents the demographic characteristics of the sample.

Table 1. Personal and professional characteristics

Item	N (234)	%
Age		
Less than 30	132	56.4
30-40	83	35.5
41 or more	19	8.1
Gender		
Male	106	45.3
Female	128	54.7
Work Position		
Cashier	82	35
Cash boss	16	6.8
Executive	100	42.7
Digital / Multichannel Advisor	13	5.6
Other	23	9.9
Job Tenure		
1-5 years	166	70.9
6-10 years	39	87.6
More than 10 years	29	100

Source: elaborated by the author

Measures

The questionnaire had a section to collect demographic information on the sample, requesting details on age, sex, position, and length of service. The following sections corresponded to the QWF, JS and WE variables. A 10-point scale was used to measure the three variables; according to Dawes (2008), 5-, 7-, and 10-point scales have statistically comparable use for data processing in confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modeling. The coefficient used to verify the internal consistency of the scales was Cronbach's alpha, providing a coefficient of 0.921 for the total of the instrument, a result that according to Nunnally (1978) is considered adequate since it presents values above 0.70.

Quality in Work Factors

To measure perceptions of QWF, responsibility, feedback, salary, and social support were considered, and the items were adapted from Herzberg (1966) by first implementing the criteria of expert researchers and then a pilot test. A sample item is "Considering my experience at the bank, to what extent do I consider that I receive a competitive salary compared to that offered by other banks for a similar position?" Cronbach's alpha coefficient for QWF was 0.873.

Job Satisfaction

JS was measured using a general satisfaction scale, adapting six items from previous satisfaction studies in the Mexican context (Martinez, Cogco, & Perez, 2016; Perez, Martinez, & Cogco, 2017; Rodriguez, Cogco, & Perez, 2014). A sample item is "To what extent is my job what I expected it to be before joining the bank?" Two items were eliminated because they did not meet the reliability criteria. Cronbach's alpha coefficient for JS was 0.878.

Work Engagement

From the contributions of Schaufeli et al. (2006), six items were used to assess the engagement of bank employees. A sample item is "Considering my experience at the bank, to what extent do I find that in the mornings I look forward to going to work?" In order to improve the statistical properties of the scale, three items were eliminated; according to García, Gil and Rodriguez (2000), three items are the minimum amount necessary to evaluate a variable. Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the WE was 0.853.

RESULTS

To evaluate the theoretical mediation model, the structural equation modeling (SEM) technique was used. According to Hair, Black, Babin and Anderson (2010), SEM is the appropriate technique when analyzing variables that cannot be observed directly. Data were processed in AMOS statistical software (version 24). Overall, the results obtained support QWF as a positive predictor of JS and WE, and JS as a mediator between QWF and WE.

Measurement model

The implementation of SEM requires the prior performance of confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to corroborate the convergent and discriminant validity of the constructs (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). To carry out the CFA, the standardized estimators (Hox & Bechger, 1998) were reviewed; in general, the items obtained statistical weights above the optimal criterion of 0.708, and only one item was below this level, although it was above the minimum threshold of 0.40 (Hair et al., 2014).
Table II shows that the results of the measurement model conform to the criteria established by Hair et al. (2010). Construct reliability was verified following the criteria of Hair et al. (2014), concluding that Cronbach's alpha and the composite reliability coefficient (CR) are satisfactory with values above 0.7. For the reliability of the measurement scale, the average variance extracted (AVE) criterion was verified to be greater than 0.50 (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). AVE provides construct validity because the result indicates that latent variables share more than 50% of the variance with their items, decreasing the shared variance with measurement error (Hair et al., 2014). These results provide convergent validity for the measurement instrument used. Following Fornell and Larcker (1981), satisfactory discriminant validity was determined, with the results reporting that the square root of the AVE was greater than the correlations between the variables in the model.

Structural model

The results obtained from the structural model satisfy the absolute, incremental and parsimony fit criteria (Hu & Bentler, 1999). In this study, the absolute fit indicators show GFI = 0.936; RMSEA = 0.072; SRMR = 0.050. Incremental fit measures include CFI = 0.970; AGFI = 0.898; NFI = 0.947; PClose = 0.035. In addition, the normalized chi-square results present an acceptable parsimony fit CMIN/DF = 2.216.

Table 2. Results of Measurement Model

Latent Variable / Items		SFL	α	CR	AVE	$\sqrt{AVE}$
Quality in Work Factors			0.878	0.875	0.636	0.797
	Considering my experience at the bank, to what extent do I consider that...					
QWF1	I am trusted in order to be assigned responsibilities?	0.746				
QWF2	I get feedback that helps me improve my performance?	0.819				
QWF3	I receive a competitive salary compared to that offered by other banks for a similar position?	0.797				
QWF4	my supervisors guide and support me in developing my work?	0.826				
Job Satisfaction			0.853	0.887	0.665	0.815
JS1	Considering my experience at the bank, what evaluation best describes it?	0.812				
JS2	Overall, how satisfied am I with my job?	0.91				
JS3	To what extent does my job allow me to improve my living conditions?	0.714				
JS6	To what extent is my job what I expected it to be before joining the bank?	0.814				
Work Engagement			0.873	0.864	0.684	0.827
	Considering my experience at the bank, to what extent do I consider that...					
WE1	in the mornings I look forward to going to work?	0.874				
WE3	my job is challenging?	0.924				
WE5	time passes very quickly when I am working?	0.658				

Source: elaborated by the author

Notes: SFL, standard factor load; α, Cronbach's alpha; CR: construct reliability; AVE, average variance extracted

Direct effects hypothesis testing

Figure 2 shows the results of the standardized estimators that support all the hypothesized effects. The R2 statistic was used to evaluate the predictive capacity of the model (Chin, 1998) and the result indicated that the variables included in the model explain 52% of WE variance. In accordance with the proposed theoretical approaches, the results provided support for H1 and H2 because perceptions about QWF had a positive and significant effect on WE ($\beta = 0.211$, $p < 0.05$) and JS ($\beta = 0.777$, $p < 0.001$). The result obtained for H3 was also supported, as JS presented a positive and significant path coefficient towards WE ($\beta = 0.544$, $p < 0.001$).

Figure 2. Hypotheses test results

Source: elaborated by the author
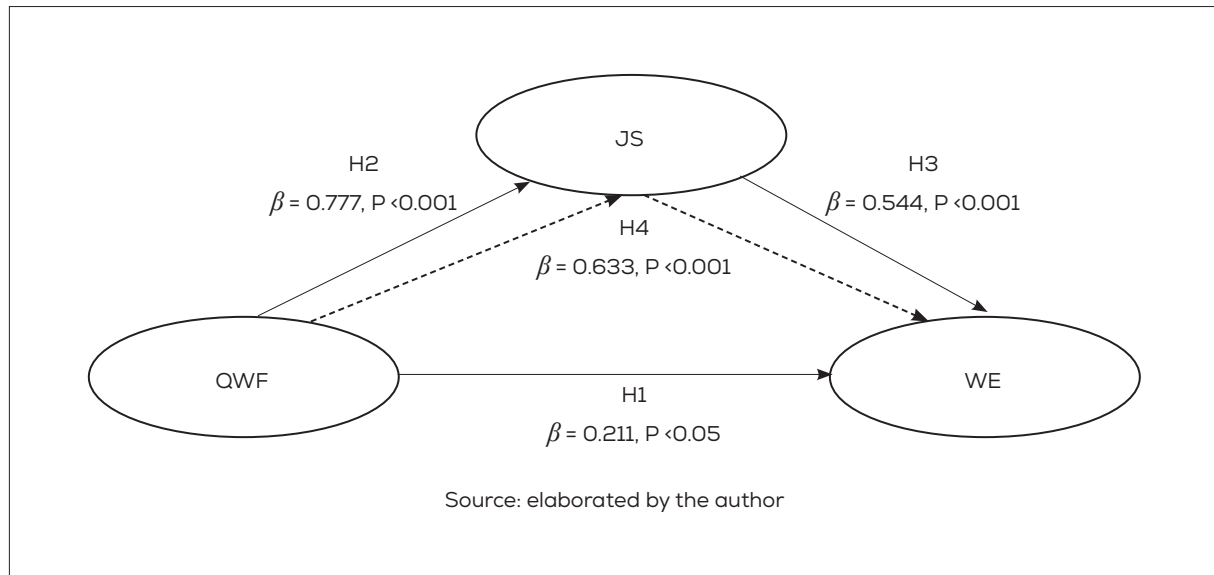
Testing mediation effect

The mediating effect of JS between perceptions of QWF and WE was evaluated. To conduct the H4 test, we first reviewed the direct effects of QWF on WE without the intervention of the mediating variable, producing statistically significant results ($\beta = 0.633$, $p < 0.001$). JS (mediator) was then introduced, and Bootstrap was run in AMOS (5,000 samples, 95% confidence level). Bootstrap is an appropriate method for mediation analyses in which the normality condition of the data is not necessary (Pinheiro, Silva, Dias, Lages, & Preto, 2020). The results showed that the indirect effect of QWF perceptions on WE through JS was significant ($\beta = 0.423$, $p < 0.001$), while the direct effect was non-significant ($\beta = 0.211$, $p > 0.05$). Following the contributions of Zhao, Lynch and Chen (2010), these results indicate total mediation (Table III). Therefore, the mediation effect of H4 was supported.

Table 3. Results of mediation hypothesis

Mediation hypothesis: Variables (Independent - Mediator – Dependent)	Standardized direct coefficient +	Direct path coefficient++	Indirect path coefficient++	Observed mediation
Quality in Work Factors – Job Satisfaction – Work Engagement	.633***	.211(ns)	.423***	Total

Source: elaborated by the author

Notes: + Path coefficient between the independent and dependent variable without the mediating variable. ++ Path coefficients including the mediating variable. *** p < 0.001

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research examined the role that perceptions of well-being at work play in the level of employees' WE in Mexican banks. In general, the results suggest that when employees receive QWF, in terms of responsibility, feedback, salary and social support, they are perceived to be more satisfied and, consequently, the possibility of generating higher WE increases.

To obtain these inferences, the causal relationships were first analyzed independently to corroborate the direct effects between the study variables. The results indicated that the QWF perceived by bank employees influences WE (H1). These results suggest that Mexican bank employees perceive high QWF as a direct driver of employee engagement. Previous studies support the results of the current research (Capri et al., 2017; Farndale & Murrer, 2015; Kiema-Junes et al., 2020; Sommer & Kulkarni, 2012). For example, Karatepe et al. (2014) found that employee responsibility with direct customer contact is a challenging factor that drives engagement. The findings of Ahmed et al. (2020) highlighted that positive feedback boosted bank employees' effort and contributed to WE. In addition, Kifle (2014) states that employees make comparisons between their salaries and those of a reference group; in this context, considering that Observatorio Laboral (2019) reported that banking-related jobs in Mexico report the best salaries in the country, it can be inferred that bank employees perceive salary quality when compared to salaries of jobs in other sectors. The results indicated that social support was the strongest predictor of QWF, and this outcome is in line with the contributions of Nasurdin et al. (2018).

At the same time, this research validated the proposed positive link from QWF to JS (H2). This result is similar to others that have reported that perceiving QWF increases employee satisfaction (Cambre et al., 2012; Diriwaechter & Shvartsman, 2018; Knapp et al., 2017). This finding is also validated in the private banking industry (Dhamija et al., 2019). In this research, QWF perceptions were a strong predictor of JS, which could indicate that bank workers design expectations regarding what they expect to receive from job factors and, as expectations were met, their QWF perceptions increased and, at the same time, incentivized JS.

Likewise, in this research JS was also a significant predictor of WE (H3), which is consistent with previous studies (Garg et al., 2018; Pieters, 2018; Yalabik et al., 2017). The results on JS indicated that in general the experience of working in a bank is rewarding and meets the expectations about the benefits of banking employment, so, as the evaluation of JS was positive, it generated WE in bank employees, which is a result consistent with that presented by Yalabik et al. (2013) in the banking industry.

In addition, this research suggested JS as a mediator in the relationship between QWF and WE (H4). This mediation model found support in the results. QWF showed a direct and significant influence on WE, but, when JS was incorporated as a mediator, QWF had no direct influence; on the contrary, indirectly, through JS, it had a significant impact on WE. According to Zhao et al. (2010), these results indicate total mediation, offering support for the suggested mediation of JS in the QWF-WE relationship.

IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE LINES OF RESEARCH

The research findings may have several implications for bank human resource managers. Particularly noteworthy is the role of QWF perceptions, which, although they are an important element in generating the involvement of bank employees in their activities, evidence was found to infer that the higher the quality perceived by the employee, the better his or her satisfaction with the job, and this will ultimately lead to an increase in WE. Having committed employees is a valuable factor for the banking industry, since employees working in direct contact with customers represent the main image that users take away from the organization. Furthermore, there is empirical evidence that argues that employees who are dissatisfied with their work environment not only decrease their WE, but also express their intention to change jobs; in this context, bank employees manage a portfolio of clients that they could take with them should they decide to change firms.

Future research could focus on addressing some of the limitations identified. The data were collected only in the north-central region of Mexico, so the spectrum could be extended to other regions in the country to strengthen the results, since satisfaction also depends on the work context (Rodríguez et al., 2012) and there are metropolitan areas with different work dynamics in aspects such as the daily influx of customers, competitiveness among co-workers, or even the salary level, all of which are factors that could modify perceptions of satisfaction. In this sense, the scope of the results is limited to the aforementioned region, since it takes into account a very specific sample. Finally, it is recommended that the work factors be segmented into intrinsic and extrinsic factors to determine those with the greatest influence on WE in banking, since this information could help to improve management with respect to QWF.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

Jessica Ivonne Hinojosa-López declares that he performed all stages of the investigation process. From conceptualization and theoretical-methodological approach, the theoretical review, as well as collection and data analysis, and the writing and final revision of the manuscript.

ARTICLES

FORESIGHT CAPABILITY AND MATURITY FOR KNOWLEDGE-INTENSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

Capacidad y madurez en prospectiva para organizaciones intensivas en conocimiento

Capacidade e maturidade em prospectiva para organizações intensivas em conhecimento

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ABSTRACT

The article develops an institutional maturity perspective for foresight capacity building in knowledge-intensive organizations (KIO), as typically embedded in highly demanding dynamics of generation and use of knowledge, which is necessary for constructing comprehensive visions and studying the future. A foresight maturity grid is proposed as structured in five dimensions: people; sophistication of methods, platforms, and infrastructures; the complexity of application areas; organizational structure; and impact on the environment. Described in five maturity levels gradually progressing in organizational capabilities, they constitute an evolutionary logic operatively articulated in processes, projects, and foresight cycles. The resulting grid, conceptually constructed in consideration of other proposals, guides the design and stabilization of foresight systems, forming a basis for the accumulation of organizational learning curves. An application case in a Colombian public KIO provides evidence of its usefulness and applicability in building foresight capabilities.

Keywords: maturity models, capability, foresight, knowledge-intensive organizations, learning curves.

RESUMEN

El artículo desarrolla una perspectiva de madurez para la construcción de capacidades en prospectiva para organizaciones intensivas en conocimiento (OIC), característicamente inmersas en exigentes dinámicas de generación y uso de conocimiento, necesario para elaborar visiones integrales y estudiar el futuro. Se propone una matriz de madurez estructurada en cinco dimensiones: personas; sofisticación de métodos, plataformas e infraestructuras; complejidad de las áreas de aplicación; estructura organizacional; e impacto en el entorno. Descritas en cinco niveles de madurez que dan cuenta de un avance gradual en las capacidades organizacionales, constituyen una lógica evolutiva operativamente articulada en procesos, proyectos y ciclos de trabajo. La matriz resultante, construida conceptualmente en consideración de otras propuestas, orienta el diseño y estabilización de sistemas prospectivos conformando una base para la acumulación de curvas de aprendizaje organizacional. Un caso de aplicación en una OIC pública aporta evidencia de su utilidad y aplicabilidad en la construcción de capacidades prospectivas.

Palabras clave: *modelos de madurez, capacidad, prospectiva, organizaciones intensivas en conocimiento, curvas de aprendizaje.*

RESUMO

O artigo desenvolve uma perspectiva de maturidade institucional para a construção de capacidade prospectiva para Organizações Intensivas em Conhecimento (OIC), caracteristicamente imersas em dinâmicas exigentes de geração e utilização do conhecimento, necessário para desenvolver visões abrangentes e estudar futuros possíveis. Uma matriz de maturidade prospectiva é desenvolvida em cinco dimensões: pessoas; sofisticação de métodos, plataformas e infraestruturas; complexidade das áreas de aplicação; estrutura organizacional; e impacto no meio ambiente. Descritas em cinco níveis de maturidade que respondem por um avanço gradual das capacidades organizacionais, elas constituem uma lógica evolutiva articulada operativamente em processos, projetos e ciclos de trabalho. A matriz resultante, construída conceitualmente a partir de outras propostas, orienta o desenho e a estabilização de sistemas prospectivos, formando uma base para o acúmulo de curvas de aprendizado organizacional. Um caso de aplicação em uma OIC pública fornece evidências de sua utilidade e aplicabilidade na construção de capacidades prospectivas.

Palavras-chave: *modelos de maturidade, capacidade, prospectiva, organizações intensivas em conhecimento, curvas de aprendizagem.*

INTRODUCTION

Globalization accelerated changes force organizations to have new methodologies and related tools for decision-making, planning, innovation, process management, knowledge, and information management (Davenport & Harris, 2017). In this context, futures studies seek to introduce the rigor of an academic discipline to conduct systematic and organized interrogations about possible futures to sustain and/or enhance current and future human and sustainable well-being and development (Jouvenel, 1967). This requires the design and implementation of various methods, processes, and systems, depending on specific contexts, combining different qualitative, semi-quantitative, and quantitative methods that seek to reduce uncertainty, rather than pretending to find absolute certainty about the future (Medina, 2020; Popper, 2008).

Accordingly, it is pivotal to consider foresight applied to the management of knowledge-intensive organizations (KIO). As construed by Jaso, Ségal, Fernández, and Sanpedro (2009), "those organizations whose intensive processes of assimilation and generation of new knowledge are essential for their economic survival and social legitimacy, responding to both public and private interests" (pp. 5-6), these could be research institutes, technology-based companies, R&D departments, among others (Medina, Mosquera, Jaramillo, Mosquera, & Valderrutén, 2018). Currently, KIO set the tone in the knowledge society and economy, characterized by constant change and increased uncertainty. These organizations have variable geometries in their structure and their capabilities can be easily lost, requiring management of the volatility and fluidity of networking and the integration of knowledge generators, which in many cases may be outside the organization (Medina et al., 2018). Like other prospective maturity models (Grim, 2009; Rohrbeck, 2011), this tool strengthens the managerial capacity and institutional development of KIO, achieving their sustainability over time. However, the implementation of maturity models expresses in different dimensions, involving profound changes in the mindset and organizational culture of KIO, as well as the adaptation of their structures and operating guidelines. In light of the growing interest of various KIO (e.g., ECLAC in Latin America) in promoting the design of foresight systems, the article's contribution lies in the proposal of a maturity grid that works as a conceptual reference orienting not only the gradual planning of level-by-level improvement actions but also the concentration of efforts to ensure that institutional capacities and learning curves do not disappear over time.

The article comprises five sections. First, it presents a conceptual framework drawing on corporate foresight, the growing interest in building foresight capabilities in organizations, as well as the nature and characteristics of KIO, followed by the specific concepts of the organizational maturity approach. The second section reviews the literature around foresight maturity models/ grids that serve as a subsequent reference point for this proposal. The third section develops the article's proposal, detailing the five dimensions of the grid in its different maturity levels and the articulation of processes, projects, and foresight cycles. The fourth section presents a Case Study illustrating how the grid suggests an improvement path for the gradual and focused institutionalization of a foresight system. Finally, the conclusions highlight the value of the proposal for the Latin American context.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Corporate foresight and capacity building

After its emergence in the 1950s, with a French and an Anglo-Saxon-based school, corporate foresight has had a long conceptualization journey. In their literature review, Rohrbeck, Battistella, and Huizingh (2015) state as one of the basic assumptions of the French school that foresight can influence the future based on decisions made in the present (Berger, Bourbon-Busset, & Massé, 2007). The levels of analysis have been varied, for example, at the sectoral level, Hamel and Prahalad (1994) consider that "Industry foresight is based on deep insights into trends in technology, demographics, regulations, and lifestyles, which can be harnessed to rewrite industry rules and create new competitive space" (p. 128). And at the organizational level, there are complementary positions between "the organizational ability to read the environment" (Tsoukas & Shepherd, 2004, p. 140) and "how managers' actions can create a competitive advantage" (Ahuja, Coff, & Lee, 2005, p. 792).

Another approach has observed the contribution to business decision-making by considering the possibility of providing adequate organizational responses, involving multiple stakeholders and "providing rapid access to critical resources" (Rohrbeck et al., 2015, p. 2), from the recognition of future-bearing facts, driving forces of change and emerging trends that lead to innovative decisions (Ruff, 2007; Neef, 2005; cited in Medina, 2020, p. 255). For the purposes of this article, it is necessary to emphasize the organized nature of foresight practice and the need for its systematic application to inform strategic decision-making at the corporate, sectorial, and industrial levels. Hence, it is necessary to advance in the skills and capacities for the use of methods, and the conformation of specialized processes and systems, especially in KIO.

Futurists have made evident the need to build foresight capacity, recognizing in the literature two orientations operating at different scales: individual and organizational (Hines, Gary, Daheim, & Lann, 2017). At the individual level, there has been a focus on refining managerial foresight or foresight style instruments; and more recently, the Association of Professional Futurists has proposed its Foresight Competency Model with core competencies for the professional futurist (Hines et al., 2017). In turn, at the organizational level, with an emphasis on process capabilities and organizational maturity (Grim, 2009; Rohrbeck, 2011), capabilities account for a marked historical evolution where practices have moved from a "dominant logic" focused on extrapolation and calculation in the 1980s, towards an open and contextual model that seeks to understand and anticipate or shape change rather than to extrapolate it (Daheim & Uerz, 2008, as cited in Hines et al., 2017).

While identifying and promoting best practices of the discipline is at the root of everything, it must be recognized that the ways in which foresight is adopted and used involve considering cultural variations (e. g., Keenan & Popper, 2008). For example, in developing countries in the Americas, beyond the incorporation of foreign, mainly European, practices, "the region has also managed to achieve its own foresight "style" on account of the creative use of limited

resources, which has sometimes resulted in effective innovations in practices and tools" (Keenan & Popper, 2008, p. 19). Acknowledging these types of organizational and geographical realities, new approaches to maturity are needed that not only articulate general theoretical concerns but also allow for the recognition of endogenous dynamics and potentialities of creation and adaptation for capacity building, recognizing that culture still requires significant development.

Foresight in Knowledge Intensive Organizations (KIO)

The framework presented here is aimed at organizations whose raison d'être involves significant knowledge generation and management processes, and which may be of public, private, or mixed capital. Referred to by authors such as Alvesson (2000, 2001) as knowledge-intensive firms or companies, KIO perform work with a strong intellectual load, where most of their members, products or services are highly qualified. Multiple types of organizations in the development field respond to these features. In the case of governmental organizations, strategic foresight at the country level can contribute to the formulation of public policies at various levels, such as in intelligence tasks on potential changes and risks, "enhancing reflexive mutual social learning processes among policy-makers, and cutting across the traditional boundaries of policy areas and government departments" (Kuosa, 2011, p. 27), and in the contribution to the formulation of visions of the future and policies based on better information and preparation. In this sphere of action, it is worth highlighting the role of think tanks (e.g., ECLAC-ILPES), observatories (e.g., the OECD Observatory of Public Sector Innovation), and research and innovation centers (e.g., the UNDP Global Center for Public Service Excellence), the Global Center for Public Service Excellence), as knowledge and recommendations drivers for the design of policies at regional and global level with a long-term strategic perspective (strategic foresight units have been consolidated, for example, in the OECD in 2013 as the successor to the International Futures Program; and in USAID during 2020) (United Nations Committee of Experts on Public Administration, 2021).

The Organizational Maturity Approach

Maturity models (MM) have been used for some decades to refer to the ability of a given organization, process, or unit to recognize its current point of development compared to a standard and to develop progressively over time towards higher stages of performance (Solarte & Sanchez, 2014, p. 6).

Maturity models popularized in 1991 with the launch of the Capability Maturity Model (CMM) by the Software Engineering Institute (SEI) of Carnegie Mellon University, a robust and complex type of model, which proposes process areas at various levels of maturity that must be fully implemented for each level to be considered fulfilled. However, it is possible to develop simpler and lighter tools, such as maturity grids (Maier, Moultrie, & Clarkson, 2012) that, instead

of defining best practices for specific processes (e. g., software, product development) that are measurable by Likert scales or binary yes/no questionnaires, they do not define any type of industry or what a specific process should look like. Rather, they serve as simple diagnostic and improvement tools, through characteristic descriptions of particular performances (Maier et al., 2012). The purpose of maturity grids is "to measure and encode capabilities or typical behaviors that reflect on best practices to effectively accomplish specific tasks and goals." (Reis, Mathias, & Oliveira, 2017, p. 647). In this regard, it is possible to recognize various underlying rationales, such as adherence to a structured process, alteration of organizational structures, emphasis on people, or learning (Maier et al., 2012). Regardless of the approach, it is possible to understand that any effort to implement practices and to build capacities in foresight will depend on the effective modification of organizational routines that, although they may provide "the stability needed to understand and explore external signals (Becker and Knudsen, 2005), they may as well become "traps" (Levitt and March, 1988) for others who get overly comfortable with previous and usually proven ways of acting to the extent that they become blind to the need for change." (Appiah & Sarpong, 2015, p. 513).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Over a decade ago, the field of foresight witnessed the emergence of two proposals for maturity models with different approaches and uses. To establish these models as a point of reference for our proposal (described in the following section), we will provide a brief description of their structural characteristics and conceptual orientations, drawing on their main differences. Thus, in the next section, it will be possible to articulate specific aspects concerning the similarities and specificities of our proposal.

Foresight Maturity Model (FMM)

The first model in the field of foresight, published in 2009, stems from Terry Grim's experience in IBM's NASA Space team and his ensuing contribution to the Strategy Maturity Model. The Foresight Maturity Model (FMM) is structured in a generic foresight process, based on practice areas defined as disciplines: *Leadership* (action), *Framing* (solving appropriate problems), *Scanning* (understanding the environment), *Forecasting* (considering possibilities), *Visioning* (deciding), and *Planning* (plans, people, processes). These derive from the practice areas and best practices set out in *Thinking about the future*, co-edited by Hines and Bishop in 2006 (as cited in Grim, 2009). The FMM comprises 25 practices that are distributed in groups of 3 to 5 per discipline. Operationalized in grids and maturity indicators by level, the FMM is inspired by the SEI's CMM, referring to a broader model on a website, currently disabled.

Maturity Model of Corporate Foresight (MMCF)

René Rohrbeck published the Maturity Model of Corporate Foresight (MMCF) in 2011, the outcome of a thesis that articulates perspectives from strategic management, innovation management, and futures management to focus on "their ability to identify, prepare for, and respond to discontinuous change" or corporate foresight (Rohrbeck, 2011, p. 1). MMCF consists of three parts: Context (6 criteria), capabilities (5 dimensions –information usage; method sophistication; people and networks; organization; and culture– and 21 criteria/aspects) and impact (4 categories –reduction of uncertainty; triggering actions; influencing others to act; and secondary benefits– and 12 criteria).

To conclude, based on the above characteristics, it is possible to point out the following differences between the two models. In contrast to the process approach of Grim's FMM, the MMCF constructs categories with a broader organizational horizon (addressing, for example, culture and impact) supported even by research questions of organizational theoretical interest. They also differ in their conceptual bases and improvement perspectives, in that the MMCF draws its maturity scale from a new product development model within "a four-maturity level logic" (Kahn et al., 2006, as cited in Rohrbeck, 2011, p. 93), moving closer to the maturity grid type orientation, while the FMM takes up the SEI CMM scale, bringing it closer to its structure. Based on these elements, the following section, under the subtitle of specificities and complements, will analyze their similarities and differences in light of our proposal.

A FORESIGHT MATURITY APPROACH

Our proposal stems from two independent efforts at Universidad del Valle, Cali, Colombia. On the one hand, the Institute for Foresight, Innovation and Knowledge Management (IPIGC) was created in 2007, within the framework of the follow-up of the Colombian Program for Technological and Industrial Foresight of Colciencias (2002-2007). More than 100 projects were carried out by 2019 that included foresight, technology watch, and strategic planning for Colombian public organizations and trade associations, as well as organizational capacity building and design of planning and impact evaluation systems. Furthermore, it managed to launch in 2021 the Master's degree in Foresight and Innovation of the Universidad del Valle. Between 2010 and 2017, the IPIGC carried out two projects that culminated in the design and implementation of the PREVIOS System of Foresight, Surveillance and Organizational Intelligence of SENA (see the last section) (IPIGC, 2010, 2017), involving the challenge of designing a maturity tool that would allow guiding step-by-step its institutionalization in 117 Training Centers nationwide. On the other hand, the second initiative involved the experience of the Research Group on Management and Evaluation of Programs and Projects of the same university, which between 2003 and 2010 had ventured into the design of the CP3M© Project Management Maturity Model (Solarte & Sánchez, 2014).

Features and components

The proposal is developed as a maturity matrix or grid (Maier et al., 2012), putting forward an improvement path within the framework of which concrete organizational practices and capacities can be developed leading to the consolidation of a foresight system in KIO. To understand the proposed logic, it should be made explicit that, given the greater interest of both countries and organizations in developing stable foresight processes and systems beyond casual explorations, it is imperative to build greater capacities to carry out foresight cycles or multi-round exercises. They would allow the consolidation of capacities over time (Medina & Ortegón, 2006, p. 100) as well as greater knowledge accumulation and updating, avoiding the obsolescence and fuzziness of the results over time.

Specificities and complementarities with previous maturity models

Concerning scope, comparatively, it is possible to identify a distancing of our perspective with respect to Grim's FMM, by not focusing merely on a generic foresight process but on the organization itself from several dimensions, as does Rohrbeck's MMCF. Likewise, it addresses the interaction with the environment, as is the case of the aforementioned CP3M® model (Solarte & Sanchez, 2014) and of the MMCF itself (the impact of "influencing others to act").

However, although in the face of the MMCF there are overlapping concerns, in the fundamentals there are important differences in approach, analytical perspective, and organizational improvement (beyond the origin of the maturity scale). On the one hand, in organizational matters, while our "Organizational Structure" dimension is based on the documentation of learning, the articulation with project management and the roles of a foresight unit, the "Organization" dimension in the MMCF articulates other strategic and innovation management processes, dealing with aspects of dissemination of foresight results or findings, accountability and incentives, and compensation. Likewise, the impact of foresight projects, which is a common theme, is organized in the MMCF under predetermined categories, including internal ones, while our perspective develops the theme from the geographic and multidisciplinary scale of impact.

Differences also arise even around more important issues such as the scope of foresight and the breadth of topics covered. In our perspective, they are represented as forms of complexity associated with the very use of foresight in the "Complexity of application areas" dimension, whereas in the MMCF they constitute two mere aspects of the use of information ("Information usage" dimension). Such complexification also implies a "sophistication of methods, platforms, and infrastructures", depending on the knowledge objectives within the framework of which five basic prospective processes are proposed (applied in the National Learning Service [SENA, 2017]).

Another group of elements is even more telling of the differences in the application contexts. Given the common lack of foresight qualification and formation in the Latin American context, foresight is incorporated in the "People" dimension starting from the basic level of "beginners" (cf.

Flores, 1994, as cited in Medina & Aranzazú, 2013); while the MMCF in its "People and networks" dimension assumes foresight practitioners with a "deep knowledge of their field" from level 1. This shows the abysmal differences in contextual matters where, even in its "Culture" dimension, the MMCF acknowledges that certain future-oriented behaviors would already be disseminated throughout the organization and would make it possible to mature foresight without an approach that gives guidelines from the structure (which can give rise to a foresight unit). However, this vision reflects the context of large European companies, which is why we stress the imperative need for a structural approach according to the five dimensions proposed, to foster a culture of foresight in organizations.

Processes, projects, cycles, and the foresight system

The core evolutionary logic of the maturity grid for KIO is presented in the progression from methods to processes and, finally, to systems, which are based on three fundamental units: Foresight projects, processes, and cycles (see Figure 1). The foresight project is "a one-time or isolated activity that produces a study or analysis of a given reality." Whereas a foresight process is a methodology or a specific combination of foresight methods, designed for a specific knowledge purpose, setting in motion several foresight projects simultaneously (cf. Medina, 2020, p. 250). Beyond the pretended methodological universality of the traditional perspective, these processes are conceived in the holistic perspective of context-based foresight. Methodologies are designed according to variables such as the political and cultural context, the availability of information, and working teams, making it possible to develop specialization according to fields of action such as economic foresight, political foresight, human and social foresight, among others. (Daheim, 2007).

In the present model, a group of five processes were designed in collaboration with Ian Miles and Rafael Popper from the University of Manchester and applied in an organizational case (SENA, 2017), namely: the processes of territorial, sectoral, technological, and occupational foresight and the process of surveillance and organizational intelligence. Far from being able to give a univocal response to the contextual specificities of other organizations, these processes can illustrate to novice organizations what a foresight process might look like, from which adaptations can be elaborated. It is necessary, however, for every organization to select its methods (Popper, 2008), adopt complementary process-oriented maturity tools (e.g., Grim, 2009), and learn from its own experience.

On the other hand, in terms of capacity building, foresight projects, which are one-time one-off exercises, entail a low level of institutional development. Although they can become complex projects, they work in a short-term horizon in the institutions (Medina, 2021).

Recently, the CYTED Open Network of Foresight and Innovation has identified a paradoxical situation in the region where a reappraisal of foresight in the last fifteen years has, in turn, seen a continuous dismantling of foresight capacities. This situation has inhibited the consolidation of authentic foresight systems (Medina et al., 2021), where short-term political cycles, far from promoting

maturation, have ended up destroying the current cycle, permanently restarting (Medina, 2021). This is contrary to the learning curves and sustained cumulative processes observed for decades not only in Europe but also in Japan and South Korea (Windle-Wehrle, 2018).

Therein lies the relevance of appropriately utilizing the potential of foresight processes from which it is possible to create sustained cycles of activity known as foresight programs, agendas, or cycles, in which foresight projects are systematically repeated over several years, progressively accumulating capacities through spirals of knowledge (Medina, 2020, p. 250). Accordingly, we can move towards the consolidation of foresight systems in specialized organizations, which requires the consolidation of permanent teams with advanced competencies that generate learning curves (Medina, 2020, p. 250). Figure 1 outlines the basic rationale for establishing a frame of reference to guide the construction of foresight capabilities.

Figure 1. An evolutionary perspective for foresight capacity building
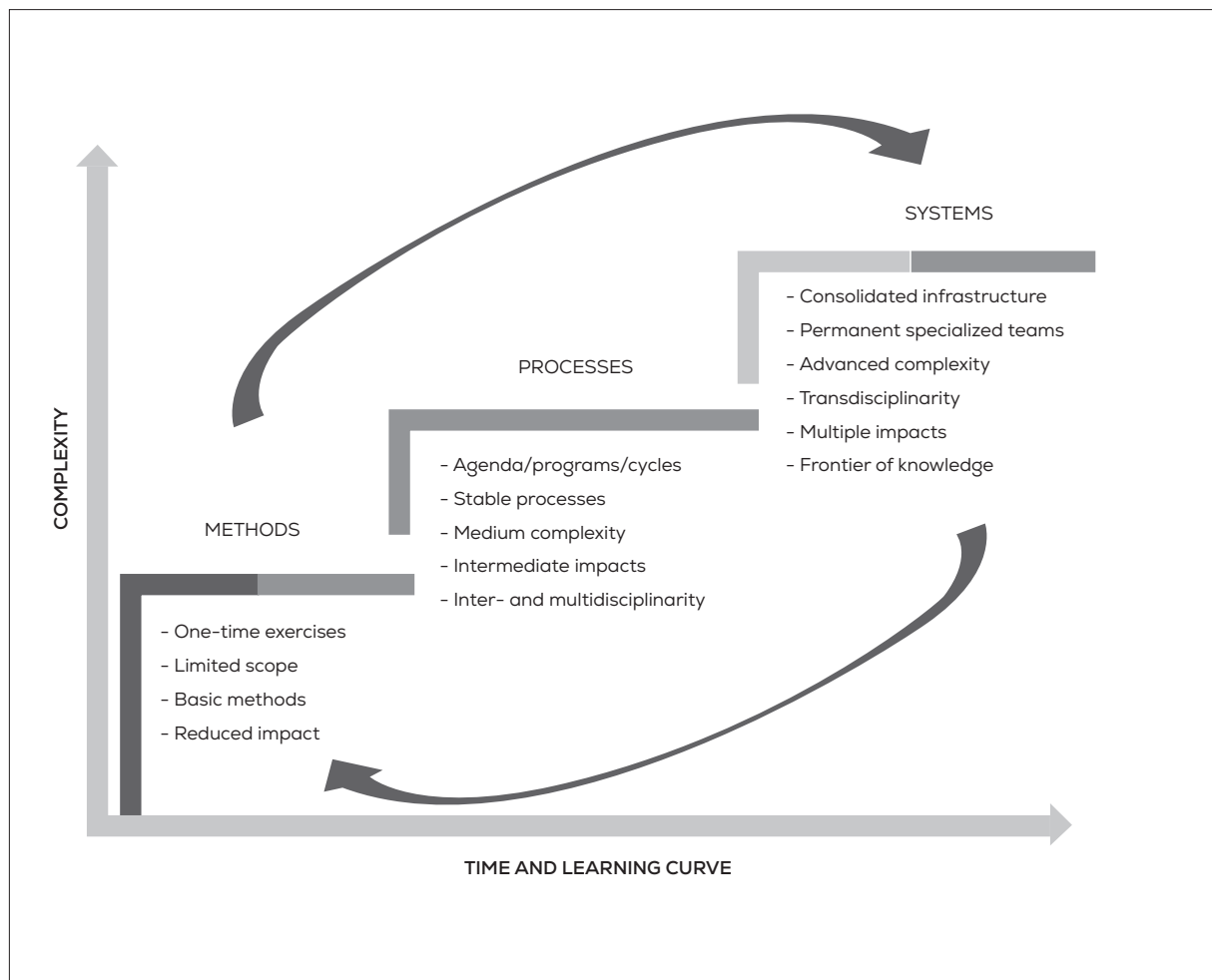
Source: Authors' elaboration based on Medina (2020).

Maturity levels

Our perspective progresses through five maturity levels that do not reflect a specific maturity logic but rather underpin multiple logics. It highlights both adherence to a structured process (sophistication of methods, platforms, and infrastructures), alteration of organizational structure, and emphasis on people and their competencies (Maier et al., 2012), among others. The levels are:

- Level 1: Inconsistency: personal motivation guides the implementation of any practice, without awareness or expertise.

- Level 2: Acknowledgement: the organization is aware and recognizes the importance of selecting and using foresight methods in specific exercises, generating a reduced impact.

- Level 3: Integration: foresight teams are formed to carry out foresight projects of greater scope and complexity, based on integration with the organization's project management system.

- Level 4: Institutionalization: foresight is embedded in the organizational culture and structure, where high-performance teams carry out high-impact foresight programs.

- Level 5: Transformation: the organization has a foresight system with a consolidated infrastructure and expert teams with the capacity to develop several highly complex foresight programs. It contributes to the development of the foresight discipline and other areas of knowledge.

Maturity dimensions

The grid proposed in Exhibit 1 1 develops the maturity levels into five dimensions within which KIO can strengthen their foresight practices in an orderly fashion. Compendia of foresight practices and guidelines can be found, for example, in Thinking about the future (Hines & Bishop, 2015) and the current Foresight competency model (Hines et al., 2017). Exhibit 1 presents the evolutionary progression of each dimension, drawing from other works, its definition is detailed below (Medina, 2020; Medina & Aranzazú, 2013):

1. People. It is related to the conformation and consolidation of a human team that implements the foresight processes in the organization, referring directly to the improvement of the capacity to do foresight, in terms of knowledge levels, competencies, and experience of individuals and teams.

2. Sophistication of methods, platforms, and infrastructures. It refers to the institution of a consolidated and coherent set of tools, information systems, and working methods defining a basic infrastructure that the organization uses to build its foresight projects and processes, according to its needs and operating contexts. The processes become more complex through methodological refinement and the incorporation of basic infrastructures such as software and databases, even going as far as the design or

adaptation of technical applications that allow for richer and complex foresight; while maintaining the systematicity of its foresight cycles.

3. Complexity of the areas of application. It addresses the themes towards which the use of foresight is directed, its inter/multi/transdisciplinary nature, and its fields of action (territorial, corporate, educational, environmental, cultural). These areas of application can be intra-organizational, related to aspects of logistics, supply chains, and production; or extra-organizational, concerning technological, social, political... fields of action, up to the study of current and potential sectors where new ventures can be explored.

4. Organizational structure. It refers to the capacity, in terms of mechanisms and organic aspects, that include rules, policies, roles, and other guidelines concerning the flow of information, as well as the responsibilities that allow the foresight system to function in an orderly and predictable manner. It supports the consolidation of the foresight system, including the systematization of lessons learned and success stories, to consolidate the functions of a foresight unit. Such units can constitute a knowledge reservoir and become training and advisory agents, providing information and analysis to update the reports and conclusions of foresight activities (Miles, 2002, p. 25). Usually, this type of function includes continuous scanning and consequence analysis; as well as considering alternative courses of action and linking foresight products to decisions (Fuerth & Faber, 2012). In our perspective, the articulation of the foresight system with the project management system, from which change initiatives are operated and tracked, is characteristic. A unit can be located at different levels of the organizational structure according to its specificity (e. g., R&D, customer service management, general management, etc.) (Ortega-San Martín, 2017).

5. Impact on the environment. This addresses both immediate and long-term effects, anticipated or not, that foresight projects and programs bring about in the environment. These are contributions in fields as varied as social problems, development visions, science and technology, public policies, among others.

The grid is presented in Exhibit 1.

Exhibit 1. Maturity grid for organizational foresight capabilities

Dimension	Level 1 Inconsistency	Level 2 Acknowledgement	Level 3 Integration	Level 4 Institutionalization	Level 5 Transformation
People	Foresight activities are carried out at the request of the organization's members, based on their personal experience and motivation.	Basic individual competencies are developed for simple foresight exercises of low complexity.	Competencies are developed and working teams are formed for the development of foresight projects with greater scope and complexity.	Competencies are developed at a specialized level with high-performance teams for the development of foresight programs.	Advanced competencies are consolidated for the development of simultaneous programs of high complexity and novelty. Theoretical knowledge is discussed.

Exhibit 1. Maturity grid for organizational foresight capabilities

Dimension	Level 1 Inconsistency	Level 2 Acknowledgement	Level 3 Integration	Level 4 Institutionalization	Level 5 Transformation
Sophistication of methods, platforms and infrastructures	Tools and methods are selected and used based on the personal interest and experiences of the organization's members.	Basic foresight tools and methods and databases are used, according to themes defined by the organization.	Stable foresight processes are defined/adapted with methods of intermediate complexity, using the basic functionalities of specialized software.	Stable foresight processes are defined/adapted, using advanced foresight methods and advanced functionalities of specialized software.	New processes are created and proprietary applications, techniques, tools, and/or methods are designed to improve the foresight system.
Complexity of application areas	The application of foresight methods is aimed at specific issues on a particular topic. The scope is defined by the members according to immediate needs.	Foresight exercises are developed on a single topic, with a monodisciplinary approach.	Foresight projects are developed on two or three topics simultaneously, of medium complexity, with an interdisciplinary approach.	Foresight programs are developed on several topics or focus at the same time, of greater complexity, using a multidisciplinary approach.	Foresight programs are developed in multiple fields of high complexity, from a multidisciplinary approach.
Organizational structure	Roles and responsibilities are proposed by the members of the organization according to their experience and perception. Some roles may not be considered.	Basic roles and responsibilities are ensured according to the experience of the organization's members, including leadership and support roles.	Organizational mechanisms are defined to articulate some foresight processes and standards with elements of the organization's project management system.	The functions of a foresight unit are created, with a defined structure and roles that allow programming, managing, and monitoring the organization's foresight activities.	Requirements for the adjustment of processes and standards of other systems, such as the project management and innovation systems, are transmitted.
Impact on the environment	The impact of foresight may or may not be accounted for at the time it is applied. There is not necessarily an awareness of it.	The results of foresight exercises have an impact on the environment but limited.	The results of foresight projects have a regional or national impact in some knowledge areas.	The results of foresight programs have an important impact on some knowledge areas.	Frontier knowledge of global impact is generated in multiple knowledge areas.

Source: Own formulation

A CASE STUDY

The maturity perspective developed was empirically validated during the design and implementation project of the Foresight, Surveillance, and Organizational Intelligence System (PREVIOS) at SENA, a public entity ascribed to the Colombian Ministry of Labor. The most relevant aspects of the experience are described below to show how the grid suggests a road map for planning the efforts required for capacity building in foresight. In this way, the practical implications of each dimension for maturity level 2 are illustrated.

SENA, created in 1957, currently offers free formation in more than 520 technical, technological, and specialized work programs. With an overall yearly budget of around USD 1,1 billion, under its Research, Technological Development and Innovation System SENNOVA, with 2,264 projects approved for USD 88,9 million between 2016 and 2018 (SENA, 2019), it sought to generate capacities for applied research and experimental development, implementing the PREVIOS system (designed by the IPIGC of the Universidad del Valle, with the participation of the University of Manchester).

The implementation was carried out between August and November 2017, through 6 pilot formation centers in different regions of the country. The high number of centers (117 distributed in 33 regional offices) led to centralizing the coordination of activities in a Foresight, Surveillance, and Organizational Intelligence Unit (PVeIO, in Spanish), as recommended in the literature (Miles, 2002).

The implementation was supported by a follow-up of the centers' action plans during on-site visits, identifying lessons learned, the collective identification of constraints to their institutionalization, virtual follow-up, and a self-assessment survey. How each dimension takes shape in practice is described below (IPIGC, 2017, and progress report via personal communication from SENA on March 15, 2021):

- "People" dimension: After defining teams in 6 pilot centers, theoretical-practical foundations in Foresight and Technology Watch were developed and the roles of leader, professional, and watchers were specified (Medina & Aranzazú, 2013), who applied one of the 5 foresight processes. Although there were 556 participants by 2021, their non-exclusive dedication implied an extension of the schedules from 6 to 18 months.

- "Sophistication of methods, platforms and infrastructures" dimension: Guidelines were defined in methodological instructions for each process. The pilot reports included developments in scientific-technological and competitive surveillance, and strategic analysis, documenting search logs and databases of Delphi rounds. By December 2020, 80% of the 117 centers had formulated their technology plans.

- "Complexity of application areas" dimension: The foresight exercises have addressed specific topics in monodisciplinary perspectives such as formation in Industrial Automation, Industrial Production Management, and Sustainable and Intelligent Mobility, among others; some of which have been published on the website http://revistas.sena.edu.co

- "Organizational Structure" dimension: The structure and functions of a PVeIO Unit were designed, centralizing the coordination of PREVIOS and data management from Bogotá. Between 2018 and 2020, the Unit strengthened formation, consultancy, and knowledge transfer, advancing a bill for its institutionalization and reviewing the requirements of the Integrated Planning and Management Model (MIPG, in Spanish) on foresight studies.

- "Impact on the environment" dimension: In addition to internal organizational benefits, technology foresight studies will generate impacts on the environment, which will involve future assessments in various fields (Poteralska & Sacio-Szyma ska, 2014), considering SENA's extensive participation in 31 knowledge networks ranging from culture and hospitality to hydrocarbons and aerospace (SENA, 2020).

After evidencing how the grid allows an orderly approach to improvement work, it is worth mentioning that, as a conclusion of this application, not only was the practical relevance of the grid validated but subsequent adjustments were made, such as the creation of the "Impact on the environment" dimension, the subsumption of some capabilities, and the modification of the names of the dimensions for the sake of greater inclusiveness.

CONCLUSIONS

This study gathers the fundamental reflections of the authors' experience in the intersection of fields that began to take shape a little over a decade ago between strategic foresight and maturity models/grids. A wide variety of projects, as well as collaborations with entities that have invested in the consolidation of foresight capacities, as is the case of SENA, have provided valuable inputs to move forward, making it possible to land a proposal that deduces, from experience, the relevant foresight dimensions in a KIO such as this one.

The ongoing observation of this special type of organization has been decisive in advancing this maturity perspective, whose novelty lies precisely in the focus on KIO and their particular needs in knowledge management. The five dimensions proposed are considered essential to initiate a process of building foresight organizational capabilities. The relevance of this contribution resides in the fact that, through the establishment of a roadmap that allows planning improvement actions and the desired level of capacity, it specifies the new capacities and practices that must be progressively maintained so that institutional performance in foresight does not decrease. This is a relevant solution to the persistent discontinuities of the region's KIO, which, although they build capacities, later allow them to be destroyed, reproducing to a large extent the problems of long-term planning.

The grid has scientific value to the extent that, while responding to real organizational problems, it also articulates the state of the art. Derived from experience in foresight and institutional maturity, it was conceived, applied, and validated between 2010 and 2017 on a real problem of capacity loss in a KIO such as SENA which, after efforts carried out in 2010

(foresight and technology watch model for institutional training response) and 2015 (foresight capacity assessment in 117 centers), had not been able to consolidate a foresight system. The results, four years after the applied maturity grid, account for the stability of the PREVIOS system and its greater anchoring in routines both because of the increase in foresight studies, as well as the progress in its institutionalization and the continuity of its PVeIO Unit. On the other hand, in its articulation to the state of the art, the grid complements previous models such as the FMM (Grim, 2009), whose procedural approach complements our dimension of "Sophistication of methods, platforms, and infrastructures." Hence its relevance, since the grid paves the way for organizations with foresight planning needs in Latin America, which, given their interdisciplinary and highly specialized nature, require a clear conceptual structure to guide sustained progress.

The perspective advocated is thus original for it stimulates debate on practices and capacity building in Latin American KIO, setting out a starting point for future interactions, as well as theoretical and methodological debates of its own. Indeed, in Latin America, there are no tools that, based on the recognition of endogenous needs and characteristics - which even outline regional "styles" (Keenan & Popper, 2008) - make it possible to identify appropriate routes for gradual improvement. The maturity grid is thus a tool for closing the consolidation gaps in the region, which have been pointed out by Medina (2021) at various levels. At the cultural, institutional, and business levels, it has not been possible to connect foresight with the productive apparatus; but very especially, those gaps are pointed out at the level of the development of foresight systems and foresight knowledge itself. The perspective developed seeks to reverse this structural tendency and to ensure that decisions are not seen as a matter restricted to individual technicians and experts (Medina, 2021), but as spaces open to collective learning and sustained capacity building.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

Javier Enrique Medina Vásquez, Leonardo Solarte Pazos and Luis Felipe Sánchez Arias worked on the conceptualization and theoretical-methodological approach, so as the theoretical review, data collection and analysis. Javier Enrique Medina Vásquez, Leonardo Solarte Pazos and Luis Felipe Sánchez Arias worked together in the writing and final revision of the manuscript.

ESSAY

ACADEMIC UNFREEDOM

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Judith Butler (2021), writing in the international version of *The Guardian*, states that

> the term "gender" attracts, condenses, and electrifies a diverse set of social and economic anxieties produced by increasing economic precarity under neoliberal regimes, intensifying social inequality, and pandemic shutdown.

Butler argues that various countries, including Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Turkey in Europe, and Brazil in South America (one may add England, France, and Italy) have adopted increasingly nationalistic, homophobic, transphobic, and misogynistic policies under the guise of opposing 'gender ideology' that attack, misrepresent, and silence university departments and academics who teach gender studies, and marginalized people made vulnerable due to their gender, sexuality, ethnicity, migrant status, poverty, and so on. Butler herself was subjected to such silencing in Brazil in 2018 when fascists burned an effigy of her to prevent her from speaking at an academic conference (Butler, 2021), and when the UK print edition of the national newspaper *The Guardian* had an interview with her expunged from the international edition earlier this year (Haug, 2021). These attacks on those who teach and research gender studies are political and ideological attacks on 'academic freedom' in increasingly authoritarian and fascist countries.

I work for a university in the UK where the 'hot button' issues in recent years have been 'academic freedom' and 'free speech' at a time when the country is beset by increasing social inequality, Covid-19 and Brexit, and impacted by global warming. More precisely, the putative 'academic freedoms' demanded in the national press and by Conservative politicians have coalesced around a support for those who demand their right to voice, for instance, racist, or transphobic opinions free from criticism, whilst denying similar 'freedoms' to others. Academia, at least in the UK, is no longer the dreaming spires distanced from the general public, but places where we are expected to 'reach out' and influence public understanding and politics. Those demanding their 'academic freedom' do so in the national media, addressing not just the public

but politicians and lawmakers: HEIs are not the 'total institutions' described by Goffman, but porous, influenced by, and influencing others (McClean, 2021).

During the week commencing October 10, 2021 the UK national press first reported that Professor Kathleen Stock had been attacked on campus for her 'gender critical' (some would say transphobic) views, and a few days later that she had left her post for her own safety (Adams, 2021). The transphobia that Stock is accused of is not an isolated, small thing, but is instead so widespread that the UK media published 6400 articles about trans people in the period 2017-2019, most of which were negative about transgender people (Baker, 2019; see also Serrano, 2017). To provide a sense of the scale of the issue, 1% of the UK population of 67 million people are thought to be transgender. The mass media in this instance does not merely report the news, but manufactures it and has a vested interest in repeatedly platforming Stock as an academic to buttress their often odious position with a veneer of academic credibility. There were 43 English language articles on major news platforms supporting Stock's 'academic freedom' to attack transgender people published between June 6, 2018 – July 28, 2021 (https://kathleenstock.com/in-the-press/). National TV and BBC radio in the UK have provided her with a platform ten times since July 2018 (https://kathleenstock.com/tv-and-radio-appearances/) to promote her opinion. This is not an academic who has been silenced and denied their freedom to speak.

The attacks against Stock in October appear to have comprised a small demonstration by ten students, who also glued some A4 pieces of paper demanding that she be dismissed and also wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of that university to demand the same – hardly the stuff of the Paris student uprising in the 1960s, or student demonstrations against racism and the Vietnam War of the 1960s and 1970s in the USA: or even the 200 strong student sit-in that I attended as an undergraduate when the bar increased the price of a pint of lager in the 1980s. In some respects what was surprising was not the intensity of the attacks, but that they had happened at all in a student populace that has been increasingly politically passive in recent years: the neo-liberalism of higher education has had students focus on instrumental concerns about their future career aspirations, where a history of militancy does not speak of being a compliant 'team player'.

Serendipitously two other academic stories went largely unnoticed and little commented on in the same week, yet both speak to 'academic freedom'. Professor David Miller was dismissed from his tenured position accused of antisemitism, an accusation that an investigation had found him innocent of (Hall, 2021); Professor Priyamvada Gopal's invitation to address staff at the Home Office was canceled seemingly by the Government after the intervention of a far-right-wing group (Gopal, 2021). Unlike Stock, who is a professor of philosophical aesthetics, not gender, both Miller and Gopal are renowned academics, but both were denied the 'freedom' of their specialist, academic areas.

What binds these three stories together is the idea of 'academic freedom'; what drives them apart is that only one of these three professors, Kathleen Stock, has received the public support of their university Vice-Chancellor, national press, and politicians. Stock has received

numerous column inches voicing support, while Miller and Gopal are hardly mentioned, let alone supported. It seems that 'academic freedom', or what passes for it, is partisan and applies only to those aligned with an increasingly neo-liberal globalism, beloved by ex-President Trump, Prime Minister Johnson, President Bolsonaro, President Putin, Prime Minister Modi, and others. It is buttressed by an increasingly neo-liberal press that, whilst demanding 'free speech', creates vapid articles attacking 'woke' students and academics, and simultaneously silences those very 'woke' students and academics (Haug, 2021. See https://michaelhobbes.substack.com/p/moral-panic-journalism for a discussion).

In this maelstrom of concerns for 'academic freedom' and 'free speech' on campus, there are other stories that have generally remained unreported by the mass media platforms that attack 'woke'. Students at Stock's university have been silenced by that university when they have reported that they have been harassed (https://twitter.com/graceelavery/status/1450508397820981250). It is a university that has a history of failures in dealing with the sexual abuse of students (Tobin, 2021). The failure of universities to protect female and gender and sexual minority students and staff from harassment, abuse, and violence, however, is not limited to Stock's employer, but is more widespread and endemic of the sexual violence of patriarchal, racist, and elitist systems within neoliberal universities (Srinivasan, 2021). Even when a university ostensibly takes action to investigate, it may build walls to block that investigation (Ahmed, 2017).

In increasingly neo-liberal 'universities', 'academic freedom' has become a label that describes how vulnerable students and staff are required to protect the fragile public image of an institution that has failed in its duty of care towards them. It is a label used to silence vulnerable minorities whilst protecting an institutional elite from criticism. 'Academic freedom' is a nebulous concept that, for those who advocate for neo-liberalism, means something very different from what is generally conceived in academia.

ACADEMIC UNFREEDOM

Academic freedom in the UK is generally taken to mean that we have the freedom to conduct research, to disseminate that research, and to teach the subjects we specialize in, largely free from interference. I say 'largely free' as our freedoms are restricted by the need to find funding for empirical research and to abide by the requirements of the funding body, our institutions, and our academic peers and colleagues. Freedom is impacted increasingly by the demands of a government and industry that demand that universities 'produce' employable graduates, and increasingly subject to the opinion of journalists and the general public. This limited 'academic freedom' presumes that we speak and practice from a position where we have an academic authority that is based on our advanced understanding of a subject, and is judged by our peers.

Grace Lavery (2021) provides a very useful and relatively short critical discussion of what 'academic freedom' is, and how it differs from 'free speech' and personal opinion. In doing so

Lavery makes clear how Stock fails the requirements of 'academic freedom', and instead presents, at best, 'free speech', and quite likely a mere personal opinion. Stock's opinion of transgender women is not supported by 'academic freedom', her opinion is not based on empirical research, and she has not subjected her work to peer review by academics who specialize in gender studies. She has instead chosen to publish her work in journalistic outlets including *Quillette*, an outlet described as 'right leaning', 'anti-feminist', and which has repeated racist tropes and is of 'low credibility' (https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/quillette/). (She has published in *Quillette* twice, and had three articles published by that platform supporting her disparagement of trans people whom she likens to an 'ideology'. She has also published on the online UK platform, Spiked, which is owned by the Charles Koch Foundation, a platform described as 'fueling the hard right' (Monbiot, 2018).) These qualities are similar to many of those for whom a neo-liberal press demands 'academic freedom', whilst attacking the academic freedom of academics like Miller and Gopal for speaking on an academic subject about which they have academic credibility. To claim a right to freedom for some whilst denying it to others is not freedom; this is a partisan academic unfreedom.

THE 'NEW' WORLD ORDER

Judith Butler (2021) discusses how an

> anti-gender ideology movement crosses borders, linking organizations in Latin America, Europe, Africa, and east Asia. The opposition to "gender" is voiced by governments as diverse as Macron's France and Duda's Poland, circulating in rightwing parties in Italy, and showing up on major electoral platforms in Costa Rica and Colombia

This partisanship does not attend to simple notions of 'left' and 'right', but of the maintenance of global elites that transcend the Global North and Global South and national borders in a post-capitalist world, mapped through the flow of money and the homosociality of their networks, which maintain powerful coalitions built on political and religious ideology.

Unpicking these networks and identifying the flows of power, money and (political) influence is beyond the scope of this article; indeed, it would be the stuff of a major, multi-institutional, longitudinal study. I instead focus only on (some) of the homosocial networking of transphobic individuals and groups in the Global North, and particularly in the UK and USA.

In England, 'gender critical' people pursue this in public and are platformed by a national press that is hostile to trans rights (Kathleen Stock for instance has written for, and has had numerous articles supporting her 'gender critical' views in *The Times, The Daily Telegraph, The Daily Mail, The Spectator,* and *The* Guardian, along with far-right outlets including *Quillette* and *Spiked*), in parliament through lobbying groups, and in the legal system by taking legal action against organizations and individuals whom they consider support 'transgenderism'. In

2021, 'gender critical' people paid over £300,000 to just one barrister for legal services, either to defend transphobic speech as 'free speech', or to attempt to restrict the legal rights of trans people. Funding for these legal services was amassed quickly on social media through 'crowd funding', making it impossible to identify the actual source of donations, many of which are 'anonymous'.

The European Parliamentary Forum (EPF, 2021) identified hundreds of millions of Euros of funding from an international network of neo-liberals and religious fundamentalists. journalists, politicians, ultraorthodox religious groups, and the far right. Perreau (2016) and Villa (2017) have written of the connections between anti-LGBT gender critical feminists, extreme religious groups, and the far right in Europe, which Villa termed *anti-genderismus* (see also Redecker, 2016). This money, which is often siphoned in through 'dark web' networks, has been used to establish and support a network of 'gender critical' groups throughout Europe, including the UK, and funds their activities, which are not restricted to transphobia, but also include homophobic attacks on equal sex marriage, body autonomy and abortion rights and anti-sex worker fundamentalism. 'Gender critical' groups in the UK and Europe have been linked to white supremacist and ultra-orthodox Christian groups in the United States and Eastern Europe, and the '*anti-genderismus*' movement, which originated in the Vatican and spawned the 'gender critical' movement, has been taken up and popularized by neo-Nazis (Redecker, 2016).

To conclude, the concept of 'academic freedom' grounded in a freedom to research and teach subjects in which we are specialists and of which we have academic knowledge, is a freedom that I fully support. It is a freedom that is increasingly denied to the discipline of Gender Studies. The very concept of 'academic freedom' has been grossly distorted by powerful elites in neoliberal states across the world to further totalitarianism and to attack vulnerable minorities. This is not academic freedom, but an academic unfreedom for anyone who is not a fascist.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Saoirse O'Shea worked on the conceptualization and theoretical-methodological approach, theoretical review, writing and final revision of the manuscript.

PERSPECTIVE

MENOPAUSE IN THE BRAZILIAN WORKPLACE: A RESEARCH AGENDA FOR SCHOLARS OF MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION STUDIES

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Menopause is the time in a woman's life when she stops menstruating for good. In clinical terms, this reproductive life stage happens 12 months after the date of her last period, so it actually lasts just 24 hours. In everyday conversation, however, we use menopause to refer to perimenopause (the stage when menopausal symptoms begin, which can be several years before menopause), menopause itself, and post-menopause (when symptoms often continue). There are 34 commonly identified symptoms of menopause, some of which are physical (e.g., heavy and/ or erratic periods, hot flushes and night sweats, fatigue, insomnia, and vaginal dryness), and some psychological (e.g., anxiety and depression, memory problems, loss of confidence and difficulties with concentration and focus). Menopause is also unique to the woman who experiences it, although estimates suggest that 75% will have some combination of symptoms, and 25% will find these symptoms debilitating. This is the case in both Latin America and the Global North. Indeed, Blümel et al. (2012) found that nearly 13% of their younger respondents (under 45) had perimenopausal symptoms which 'severely compromised quality of life', peaking amongst those who were four years post-menopause, with 31.6% reporting the same problem (p. 549).

Although the gradual decline with aging of hormones, like estrogen, progesterone, and testosterone, is the basis of natural menopause, some women have sudden onset menopause due to surgery, such as a full hysterectomy, which also removes the ovaries, or medication such as Tamoxifen for breast cancer. Equally – at least if we consult data from the Global North - symptoms usually start to occur in a woman's mid-to-late 40s, and menopause is reached at 51. Even so, about 1% of women go through early menopause (before the age of 45), or premature menopause (before the age of 40).

English language research into menopause in the Brazilian and wider Latin American context, however, suggests some compelling differences as well as some similarities between

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women in this part of the world and those in the Global North. In terms of differences, women in Latin America reach menopause between one and three years earlier on average (see, for example, Silva & Tanaka, 2013; Vélez, Alvarado, Lord, & Zunzunegui (2010). Equally, 70% of Blümel et al.'s (2012) respondents experienced menopausal symptoms before the age of 45, and also before having any menstrual irregularity. The equivalent average in the Global North is 48 for symptom onset. Researchers have also found that Brazilian women report more symptoms than those in Europe or Asia, and that these symptoms are 'atypical', which is perhaps better expressed as varying from those reported as most common in the Global North. These include psychological symptoms, like irritability, depression, and anxiety, and physical symptoms, like muscle and joint pain, and exhaustion (Silva & Tanaka, 2013).

There is a strong theme in this research, which is that all of this is associated with 'the sociodemographic, economic and cultural context in which these women live' (Silva & Tanaka, 2013, p. 68). The correlative contextual factors that recur throughout the literature include lower education and lower socioeconomic status, as well as geographical variables, like higher altitude and temperature, all of which are likely to exacerbate symptoms (e.g., Barazzetti et al., 2016; Blümel et al., 2011, 2012; Chedraui et al., 2008; Núñez-Pizarro et al., 2017; Vélez et al., 2010). These findings speak of the importance of adopting a bio-psychocultural approach to menopause, which 'does not deny the physiological basis of menopause in fluctuating levels of hormones … but argues for psychological factors as well as macro-level cultural factors in influencing a woman's symptoms' (Atkinson, Beck et al., 2021, p. 51).

Evidence also suggests that there is a lack of knowledge about menopause among Brazilian women, especially among those of lower socioeconomic status, and with lower levels of education (Amaral et al., 2018, 2019). Brazilian psychologist, Samara Irume, in conversation with Heather Hirsch (2021), suggests that many of her peers assume they cannot be menopausal if they do not have hot flushes: usually the most commonly reported symptom in the Global North. Irume also emphasizes that Brazil is 'like two countries' in the sense that women who are able to afford private healthcare will typically receive the best treatment for their menopausal symptoms. On the other hand, those who rely on the public health service, which has been subject to the Spending Ceiling Amendment (95/2016) for six years now under the austere fiscal regime introduced by Michel Temer's government and continued by Jair Bolsonaro, may get a much more variable service. Irume cites statistics, for example, that suggest that 70% of menopausal women visiting a doctor in Brazil will be prescribed anti-depressants as opposed to hormone replacement therapy (HRT). Indeed, studies that calculated the numbers of menopausal women in Brazil who are taking HRT include the one by Pacello, Baccaro, Pedro, & Costa-Paiva (2018). Their analysis, which is based on the same data set as the one used by Amaral et al. (2018, 2019), suggests that 19.5% of the survey respondents either had taken HRT in the past, or were currently taking it, especially if they had experienced work disruption due to hot flushes and night sweats. According to Blümel et al.'s (2011) much larger survey, 14.7% were using HRT.

Blümel et al. (2012) have suggested elsewhere that especially low rates of HRT use are found amongst Brazilian women of lower socioeconomic status. Danckers, Blümel, Witis, Vallejo, Tserotas, Sánchez, Chedraui (2010), research focused on gynecologists in the region and found they were

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much less likely to prescribe HRT for their patients than they were to take it themselves, or support their partner taking it. Interestingly – although again sadly – evidence from the UK indicates similar patterns, with Hillman, Shantikumar, Todkill and Dale (2020) finding that women living in the most deprived communities were 18% less likely to be prescribed HRT than those in the most well-off areas, once clinical risk factors had been adjusted for. Hillman et al. also remark that women in the most deprived communities stand a much greater chance of being prescribed oral HRT as opposed to skin patches. Pills are more powerful, but patches are safer. Moreover, my best estimates suggest that only around 8.2% of women in the normal age range for menopause symptoms in England are currently being prescribed HRT (Office for National Statistics, 2021; OpenPrescribing, 2021).

Although it is present as a demographic variable in a lot of research, I have only been able to locate one English language study from Brazil which addresses work more substantively, the findings of which are published in Giron, Fônseca, Berardinelli and Penna (2012) and Fonsêca, Giron, Berardinelli and Penna (2014). Their qualitative interviews with a small sample of nurses suggest that menopause transition can be especially difficult given the already 'exhausting workloads and a physically and psychologically strenuous routine' (Giron et al., 2012, p. 746). In Fonsêca et al. (2014), we see data extracts like the following, which throws more light on these challenges:

> I think [menopause] influences everything. Even in the relation[ship] with the patient, in the relation[ship] with the team, I am very excited, very anxious and during this period I become twice or more so than what I already am. And sometimes I don't even have time to stop, to provide assistance to my team. So, it is a day that you think you are going to do things and you get more tired and you don't do it. Because you want to see everything at the same time and you can´t see anything concerning quality (Esmeralda).
> I went back to therapy precisely because of that, so that I would not interfere [in] my own relations[hips]. Because with my patients I had no problem. I had to work all of this out [so] not to cause any embarrassment with my colleagues (Água-Marinha). (pp. 217-218)

There are some intriguing themes here around the problems that menopause might create for Brazilian women at work. This study, however, focuses on quality of life for these women overall, and as such, work is not a central focus. The number of respondents is also low, even for a qualitative project.

Overall, the data suggest a mixed pattern in terms of gender in the employment context in Brazil. For example, the country has a gender pay gap of 23% (Prusa & Picanço, 2019), having tightened up its gender pay equality legislation in 2017 to bring in requirements around reporting, and punitive measures for non-compliance. Women in Brazil, as in many other nations across the world, are also more likely to work in various forms of service jobs, which are often low status and poorly paid, like education, health, social services, sales and repairs, and domestic service. Some 47% of women work in the country's informal sector (Silva, 2019), meaning that they lack job security and employment rights. On the other hand, women make up 39% of the managers in the public and private sectors, and are the most highly educated group in

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the country (Silva, 2019). Equally, and significantly for my purposes here, statistics from the second quarter of 2021 suggest that 38% of women in Brazil aged between 50 and 64 are in employment, and this figure has remained relatively steady since early 2018 (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2021). This of course is also the group of women who are most likely to be experiencing menopausal symptoms.

What we can extrapolate, then, is that many Brazilian women face challenging employment circumstances, and are more likely than not to work in lower status and poorly remunerated jobs, often in the informal sector, which are predicated on providing services for others. As I have suggested above, lower socioeconomic status has been reported as a risk factor in terms of menopausal symptoms in Brazil. Equally, findings from elsewhere in the world indicate that visible symptoms, like menstrual flooding, hot flushes, forgetfulness, or irritability create particular difficulties at work when one is regularly interacting with others (Atkinson, Carmichael et al., 2021; Butler, 2020; Jack, Riach, & Bariola, 2019; Kittell, Mansfield, & Voda, 1998; Kronenberg, 1990), as is always the case in service occupations. We also know that workplaces can make symptoms worse, especially around high temperatures, humidity, a dry environment, a lack of ventilation, noise, a lack of access to cold drinking water, heavy, restrictive and/or synthetic uniforms or required workwear, and poor toilet facilities, coupled with work that is physically demanding (Griffiths, Cox, Griffiths, & Wong, 2006; High & Marcellino, 1994; Jack et al., 2014; Kopenhager & Guidozzi, 2015; Putnam & Bochantin, 2009). For women working in the informal sector, these issues are especially likely to be problematic because of the absence of employment protection in this context.

Given the importance of the bio-psychocultural approach, and the findings I have reviewed, which suggest several specificities around Brazilian women's experiences of menopause and their employment situation, the time seems ripe for scholars of management and organization studies to engage in more in-depth scholarship to investigate the relationship between menopause and employment in this context. Such research could, for example, explore:

- The symptoms which Brazilian women report as most detrimental at work, and whether there are specific aspects of workplaces that make these symptoms harder to manage.

- Whether these experiences vary according to occupation, geographical location, if they work in the formal or informal sector, age, whether they identify as having a disability, their level of autonomy at work, and their ethnicity.

- Their experiences of sharing any menopause-related difficulties at work, and what kind of response they received, or their reasons for non-disclosure.

- The extent to which menopause has occasioned changes in their working lives: e.g., leaving work altogether, reducing their hours, changing occupation, etc.

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- What kind of support they feel would be beneficial at work to ameliorate any challenges caused by menopause.

- Whether trade union membership is a mitigating factor in these experiences.

- Their coping strategies around menopause symptoms at work.

In conclusion, the Anglophone literature base dealing with menopause in the workplace is fairly small to date, and certainly much smaller than the literature on menopause *per se*. Anglophone research from the Global South is also very limited. Management and organization studies scholars in Brazil, therefore, have a genuine opportunity to shed light on a phenomenon that is under-researched in general, and that can create a number of difficulties for working women in mid-life.

NOTE

I use woman, women, she and her as placeholders where appropriate in this article, but it is important to remember that some transgender men and other people who identify as gender diverse will also experience the menopause.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

Jo Brewis worked on the conceptualization and theoretical-methodological approach, theoretical review, writing and final revision of the manuscript.