

Original Article

Partying and occupation: an occupational analysis of the *Bailes da Saudade*¹

Festa e ocupação: uma análise ocupacional dos bailes da saudade

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How to cite: Coelho, F. S., & Magalhães, L. (2023). Partying and occupation: an occupational analysis of the *Bailes da Saudade*. *Cadernos Brasileiros de Terapia Ocupacional*, 31, e3315.
<https://doi.org/10.1590/2526-8910.ctoAO253733152>

Abstract

Introduction: There are deep relationships between Brega parties and the city of Belém do Pará, Brazil, manifested in everyday practices that influence the city's cultural, performance and identity characteristics. These parties are held weekly and inform three main actors: partygoers, bregueiros, and DJs. Even though they are widely validated in the periphery, the Brega parties face processes of social marginalization of their practices, with derogatory notions attributed to the ways of living and everyday actions of the subjects involved with this movement. Among the Brega parties, this study highlights the Baile da Saudade, which concentrates on characteristics more linked to the initial Brega movement. **Objective:** To identify the meanings of producing/participating in the Baile da Saudade parties based on the perspective of its main actors. **Method:** This qualitative study, which was inspired by an ethnographic approach, heard five participants: one DJ, two party planners, and two bregueiros. The data was generated through participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and the Photovoice. The resources were analyzed by Thematic Analysis. **Results:** Four thematic units were generated: particularities of the Baile da Saudade, construction of the party as a cultural product, differences in consumption between the Center and the Periphery of city, as well as stigmas and acceptance associated with this party. **Conclusion:** The study revealed the constraints, tensions, and potentials of producing/participating in Baile da Saudade parties, and allowed reflection on the role of some occupations from the counter-hegemonic perspective.

Keywords: Occupation, Cultural Activity, Social Stigma, Occupational Therapy.

¹The research was evaluated by the Research Ethics Committee of the Federal University of São Carlos (CEP- UFSCar), based on the Presentation Certificate for Ethical Appreciation (CAAE) number 38485020.0.0000.5504, and approved according to opinion number 4.420.240.

Received on Apr. 26, 2022; 1st Revision on Apr. 29, 2022; 2nd Revision on Oct. 25, 2022; Accepted on Nov. 28, 2022.



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Resumo

Introdução: Existem profundas relações entre as festas Brega e a cidade de Belém do Pará, Brasil, manifestadas em práticas cotidianas que influenciam as características culturais, performáticas e identitárias da cidade. Essas festas são realizadas semanalmente e informam três atores principais: festeiros, bregueiros e DJs. Mesmo amplamente validadas na periferia, as festas Brega enfrentam processos de marginalização social de suas práticas, sendo atribuídas noções depreciativas aos modos de viver e às ações cotidianas dos sujeitos envolvidos com esse movimento. Dentre as festas de Brega, destacamos nesse trabalho o Baile da Saudade, o qual concentra características mais ligadas ao movimento inicial do Brega em Belém. **Objetivo:** Identificar os significados de ocupar-se das/nas festas de Baile da Saudade com base na perspectiva dos principais atores. **Método:** A pesquisa, de natureza qualitativa e inspirada por abordagem etnográfica, ouviu cinco participantes: um DJ, dois festeiros e dois bregueiros. Os dados foram gerados através de observação participante, entrevistas semiestruturadas e por meio de Photovoice. Os recursos foram analisados por meio de Análise Temática. **Resultados:** Foram geradas quatro unidades temáticas que informam as particularidades do Baile da Saudade, a construção da festa enquanto produto cultural, as diferenciações de consumo entre o Centro e a Periferia da cidade, bem como estigmas e aceitações associados ao Baile. **Conclusão:** O estudo revelou os condicionantes, as tensões e os potenciais de ocupar-se das/nas festas de Baile da Saudade, bem como permitiu refletir sobre algumas ocupações humanas a partir de perspectiva contra hegemônica.

Palavras-chave: Ocupação, Atividade Cultural, Estigma Social, Terapia Ocupacional.

My People, Let's Party? Context and Meanings of the Brega Parties in Belém do Pará

My love has been held through the seasons, so long becoming the sad side of passions. Gone were leaves with autumn, but they stayed in my love, which makes me lie down with pain, which makes me lose sleep, which makes me lie down with pain [...].

Luiz Guilherme - Apesar das Estações. Flash

Brega anos 80. Available in:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3bQTW78ks9A>

The city of Belém do Pará is a fertile setting for the artistic expression of the Brega genre. Practices carried out from this genre favor the cultural, identity and performance design of this city (Azevedo, 2019; Coelho, 2022). Among these practices, we highlight Brega parties, called cultural practices because of their striking characteristics of social representations and sociability (Coelho, 2022; Costa, 2009).

The general characteristics of Brega's parties are in line with the idea of a circuit, as they bring together apparently different activities, but which together are recognized by its regular users (Costa, 2008; Magnani, 2002). The parties on the bregueiro circuit are

mostly located on the outskirts of the city and take place weekly in concert halls, charity headquarters and balnearies. Events can be animated by *Bandas de Brega* or by sound structures called sound systems² (Figure 1), hosted by DJs. According to Costa (2009), there are fundamental characters for the production and maintenance of these parties: the party planners, party promoters or businessmen who own the party houses; the *bregueiros*, people who dance Brega and the DJs, subjects responsible for livening up the parties.

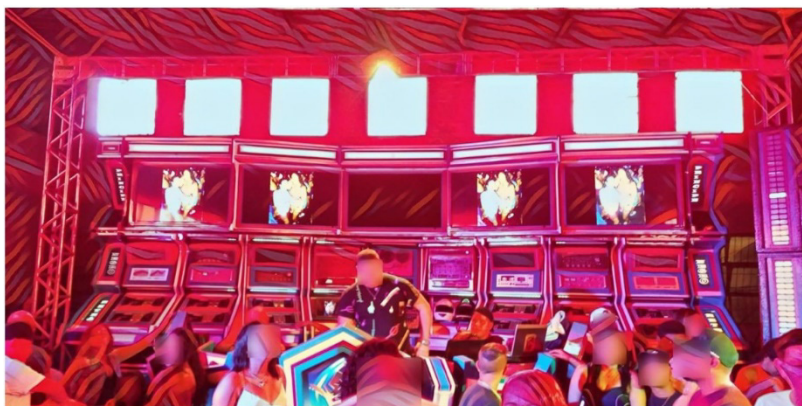


Figure 1. Equipment used at the Baile da Saudade. Source: Research collection (2021).

There are several options for parties animated by sound systems, which can be described in two large groups: 1. Sound system parties that play the most current Bregas, which have teenagers and young people as their main audience (Costa, 2009; Vilhena, 2012); 2. Baile da Saudade parties, characterized by the reproduction of the oldest Bregas, with typical sound and slower dancing pairs. The main audience for these parties are adults and the elderly (Coelho, 2022; Costa, 2008).

The Baile da Saudade parties are focused in this work because they are considered, within the circuit, as the closest to the initial movement of Brega in Belém do Pará, as well as due to its growth with the increase in sound systems destined for this type of event and the participation of the younger public.

The Bailes da Saudade are events that originated in the 1990s, marked by nostalgia when evoking the memory or re-edition of Brega parties from past decades (Costa, 2008). Bregas, Boleros, Cúmbias and Merengues from the 1960s, 70s, 80s and 90s are the main genres reproduced in the DJs' musical selections (Castro, 2020; Costa, 2008).

Although Brega parties are widely validated and consumed in the outskirts of Belém, historically, the Brega genre has been marginalized in Brazil (Amaral, 2009). This phenomenon may be linked to the derogatory meaning of the word Brega, associated with prostitution zones, music played inside brothels and morally unacceptable behavior in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Amaral, 2009; Ferreira, 1999). These derogatory meanings are often reaffirmed by the white elite of large urban centers, as well as by the artistic elite who underestimate popular art, as the genre and its representations originate in the peripheries (Amaral, 2009; Lima, 2016). Prejudiced notions are attributed to the

²Big sound and lighting structures that liven up Brega parties.

Baile da Saudade regarding the ways of life, of bad aesthetic taste, meanings linked to something outdated, caricatured and ignorant to the consumer public, promoter and animator of the Bailes (Amaral, 2009; Bastos et al., 2009; Lima, 2016). This stigmatization also affects the occupations developed from these parties, being favored by hegemonically imposed cultural standards (Coelho, 2022).

Through parties, we can understand social and occupational dynamics that are conditioned to power relations (Perez, 2012; Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011). From this perspective, parties can help to understand individual and collective problems of life in society (Perez, 2012). Among the purposes of parties, Amaral (1998) highlights the denial or destruction of the structures on which society is organized; or restatement of the ways in which it is organized. In parallel, Castro Júnior (2008) points out that parties are not restricted by the time available, as opposed to the world of work. The party can also be the strategic production of culture to lead plural actions, the representation of sociability between subjects, the link between past and present and resistance against the exploitation of work (Castro Júnior, 2008; Martín-Barbero, 1997). In addition to the purposes proposed by Amaral (1998), the party does not interrupt everyday life, but can renew its sense of continuity, accompanied by dynamics that recognize belonging, identity, subjectivity and many other aspects (Martín-Barbero, 1997).

Although occupational studies that delve into the phenomena of parties are scarce, it is essential to consider the protagonism of human occupations for the production and maintenance of festive practices, through which collective subjects write their life narratives (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011; Simaan, 2017). From the perspective of Critical Occupational Science, we reflect that human occupations have socioeconomic and political crossings articulated by macro, meso and microsocial contexts, and can be culturally validated or invalidated (Dickie et al., 2006; Rudman, 2013).

Doing enables individuals to produce their festivities and structure their lives; therefore, this study aims to elucidate the meanings of taking care of/at the Baile da Saudade parties based on the perspective of its main actors.

The Methodology on the Dance Floor

We carried out a qualitative study³, inspired by the ethnographic approach with five active people at the Baile da Saudade parties: one DJ, two party planners, and two bregueiros, between January and April 2021. The participants received fictitious names to preserve their identities, namely: Mauro and Lúcio (party planners), Júnior (DJ), and Edilson and Valdilene (Bregueiros)

Procedures for data collection

We used participant observation, semi-structured interviews and Photovoice. Photovoice is a participatory research method that mainly aims at expressing the reality experienced by individuals, groups or communities through the use of photography, highlighting the role of their interpretations (Berinstein & Magalhães, 2009; Wang &

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Burris, 1997). It is recommended that Photovoice be developed in nine stages: 1. Identification of community demands; 2. Convocation of participants; 3. Learning the technique; 4. Guidelines for using the camera, as well as ethical aspects of imaging; 5. Distribution of cameras for recording images according to guiding themes; 6. Identification of registered photographs; 7. Group discussion about the photographs and identification of problems; 8. Forwarding of proposals listed by leaders; 9. Strategies for sharing images and action plans to change the demands encountered (Wang & Burris, 1997).

Step 1: Open invitation, via social networks, to participants with extensive experience in the Bailes da Saudade, through intentional non-probabilistic sampling, followed by the Snowball sample technique (Pires, 2008; Vinuto, 2014). This process was facilitated by the fact that the first author had been a participant in these events for a long time, recognizing the main actors. The five participants met the inclusion criteria: being over 18 years old, residing in Belém or the metropolitan area, and considering themselves an active participant in the Bailes da Saudade;

Step 2: Via messaging application (WhatsApp), the first author briefly explained the research objectives, methodological steps and scheduling for the first interview with each participant;

Step 3: In person, the objective of the study and the data generation steps were explained in detail. Finally, the participants were informed about the Free and Informed Consent Form, and signed the document. Subsequently, we started the semi-structured interview, in which the participants were able to characterize their occupational involvement in the Bailes da Saudade do Circuito Bregueiro. At the end, the procedures for Photovoice were described.

Step 4: Participants sent the registered photographs via WhatsApp. Then, the first author carried out a technical screening of the photos, excluding those with little clarity and those that were not directly related to the Bailes da Saudade. Ethical aspects were also considered, avoiding the unauthorized identification of people and places. After printing the selected photographs, a last meeting was scheduled to finalize the Photovoice steps.

Step 5: Participants were able to narrate the stories of each selected photograph. Of the 149 photos submitted, 17 were selected.

Step 6: The first author carried out the participant observation with records in the field diary of the scenes of two Bailes da Saudade located on the outskirts of Belém. The records sought to contemplate the occupational view on the dynamics of the functioning of the parties.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the data were generated respecting the recommended sanitary measures (Organização Mundial da Saúde, 2020). Personal protective equipment and social distancing were used by both the first author and the participants on the rare occasions they met in person. Photovoice was carried out individually with the participants.

The interviews were verbatim transcribed. Data were analyzed using the Thematic Analysis method (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Table 1 briefly describes the participants:

Table 1. Presentation of research participants.

Name	Age	Participation on the Bregueiro Circuit	Key highlights narrated
Mauro	36	Party planner	Resident of the outskirts of Belém. Since he was a child, he has been involved in the events' business with his father. The family is an avid consumer and participant in the Bailes da Saudade. He maintains a synesthetic relationship with Brega. He is also a good dancer in Brega and other genres.
Lúcio	65	Party planner	Resident of the outskirts of Belém. He comes from a rural family of musicians. Appreciates the genres of music from Pará, including Brega and Carimbó. He considers himself a contributor to Pará culture.
Júnior	35	DJ	Resident of the outskirts of Belém. He is passionate about the profession of DJ. He was influenced by his aunt, who owned sound systems. He maintains an intense routine of shows, management of social media, contact with the public and studies to serve the best musical sequence. Feels fulfilled with what he does.
Valdilene	40	Bregueira	Resident of the outskirts of Belém. She was influenced by her brother to like and dance Brega. She maintains an intense relationship with Brega parties, the friendships of the dance group and the dance itself. [For her] Engagement at parties is therapeutic.
Edílson	43	Bregueiro	Resident of the outskirts of Belém. He has been interested in dance since he was a teenager. Defender of parties and more traditional dances. In love with the Merengue dance. He feels he left a legacy for teaching dances at the Baile da Saudade.

Source: Coelho (2022).

Five thematic categories explain the occupational dimension of the Baile da Saudade parties, of which we highlight four for this article: 1. Particularities of the phenomenon Baile da Saudade; 2. Regional sociocultural roots: Baile da Saudade as a cultural product; 3. Consumption Practices at the Baile da Saudade: dissimilarities between Center and Periphery and 4. Stigma and acceptance of the Baile da Saudade.

Getting to Know the Party From the Inside, What the Participants Said

Particularities of the phenomenon Baile da Saudade



Figure 2. The Baile da Saudade party. Source: Coelho (2022).

The narrative of the participants revealed characteristic aspects of the Baile da Saudade parties. From this, we reflect on human occupations as a fundamental layer for such a practice. The party's operating dynamics reveal a curious network of meanings around Brega music and its artistic and cultural developments that lead people to participate in the event (Coelho, 2022). The Baile da Saudade (Figure 2) is structured through actions that promote collective involvement and popular entertainment (Costa, 2008). To this end, weekly planning at a frenetic pace is developed inside the bregueiro circuit to produce a good party. The parties take place weekly: some start in the late afternoon, extending into the night, while others start and develop throughout the night. There is competition between party houses and sound systems aimed at attracting the public on the common days of the events:

The party starts long before the party itself. In two weeks, we are going to schedule a party, so you have an idea that this is a long time for us, but not for organizing a party, because there are show events that the organization lasts 6 months, but not for a sound system party, in which 2 weeks is already a long time (Mauro-Party planner).

The production of events triggers several strategies that undertake occupations and people with specific functions. For the Baile da Saudade, a good party is mainly due to the greater degree of involvement of the public with the event. This involvement is characterized in the occupations of dancing Brega, listening to Brega, singing songs, socializing with friends and peers, among others. According to Amaral (1998), parties need criteria to be produced. Only the presence of the public does not guarantee the promotion of a good party, but participation does. This sheds light on the fact that the producers of Baile da Saudade use various strategies to attract the public, such as choosing the best days, sound systems and party venues, promotions for drinks and tickets, quality of service, etc. Participation is a factor that differentiates parties from spectacles, such as festivals, for example, as the degree of involvement of participants may or may not guarantee the success of the party (Amaral, 1998).

In this sense, we identified in the phenomenon of the study the fundamental presence of the various occupations for the development, organization and maintenance of a festive practice. These occupations are present before, during and after the events and signal the presence of a certain group that writes its historicity in the world (Coelho, 2022).

The group participating in this research, which is made up mostly of adults living on the outskirts of the city, has several choices for involvement in the event. According to the narrative of the participants, the preference for the Baile da Saudade is related to the appreciation for the “paced and rhythmic dance of pairs” (Figure 3), old music – especially the old Bregas - the safety and tranquility of the party, the meeting with the network of friends and the cultural importance of the Brega genre in the region:

I prefer the Baile da Saudade because it is more enjoyable to dance [...] it is cooler, more relaxed. The people I like also like to attend the Ball [...]. We don't see things that we see at other types of parties I have attended. In other parties there is a lot of drugs [...]. I do not like it, there are affrays! At the Baile da Saudade it is rare for you to see a little confusion [...] (Valdilene-Bregueira).

My preference for the Baile da Saudade is because I saw a growth in the Baile [...]. The Baile da Saudade came very strongly and I decided to commit myself, I decided to study, to delve even further to see how far I would go (Júnior-DJ).

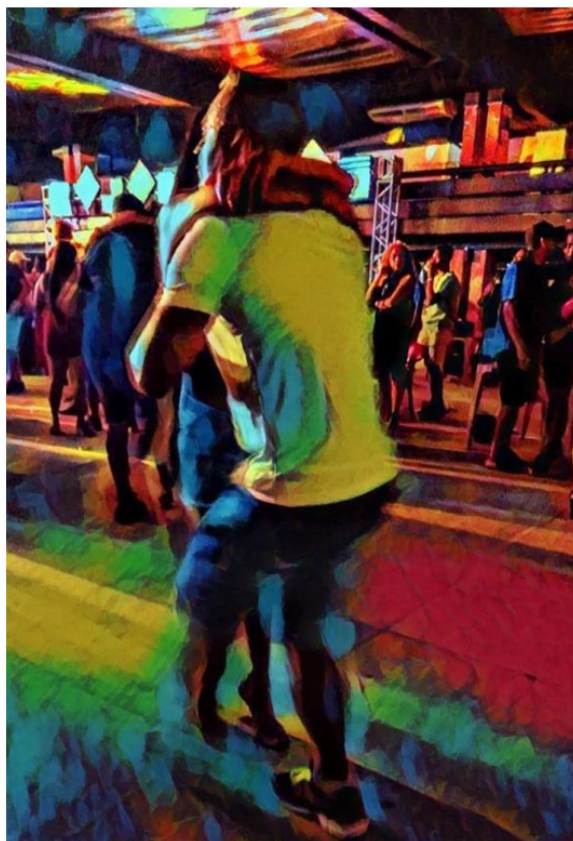


Figure 3. Dance of pairs at the Baile da Saudade. Source: Coelho (2022).

The preferences for the party presented by the participants are in line with the notion of Occupational Choice proposed by Galvaan (2015), and these choices are not necessarily conditioned by individual and environmental perspectives. Factors beyond the subject's control interfere with which occupations are available for engagement, generating processes of inequities, mainly referring to stigmatized groups.

The occupational choices made by the participants are influenced by a sociocultural and market network, mainly located in the periphery, which tends to value occupations around the Baile da Saudade. Even though derogatory meanings can be found outside the aforementioned network, characterizing it as outdated, in bad taste, among others, it is in the peripheral nuclei that, culturally, positive values and beliefs are constructed. The reasons that lead to the preference for these parties, and revealed in the narratives of the subjects, show the cultural and collective scene of the parties. It also reveals the curious space-time ambivalence of a practice mostly related to the peripheries and with an appeal to “things” of the past.

According to the participants, involvement with the Baile da Saudade party produces meanings expressed by feelings of happiness, belonging, reduction of emotional symptoms, personal achievements and sharing experiences among friends:

Through Brega, and the Baile da Saudade, I am making my dreams come true. I was supposed to have a car, a motorcycle, but I wanted a stereo and I am getting it, and now I am finalizing to have my house. I am proud to be a DJ at Baile da Saudade, I am crazy (Júnior-DJ).

I feel very good participating in the Baile da Saudade, I feel happy. Sometimes I even think it is a soul thing, you know, because I like it a lot, it is something I feel good about [...]. Going to the Baile da Saudade is more like therapy, because I have always had anxiety, depression and when I dance I kind of forget things. If I am going through a really difficult week, on the weekend I go out dancing, and in the next week I am calmer (Valdilene-Bregueira).

The meanings attributed by the subjects to the involvement in the parties speaks with the ideas of identity and occupational well-being. The understanding of occupational identity, in Occupational Science, is crossed by occupational preferences, marked by socio-historical, political and cultural factors. The occupations in which individuals and collectives choose to engage favor the identification of the person/group that we think we are, know and want to become (Kiepek et al., 2018).

In situations influenced by processes of social marginalization, carrying out certain occupations can inform the occupational identity, configuring it in recognition and resistance strategies (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011). New meanings are expressed by the subjects, contradicting hegemonically imposed standards. The identities of bregueiro, party planners and DJ can inform value practices that this group, collectively, wants to continue to deal with.

The notions of occupational well-being are in line with the meanings attributed by the participants, as individuals can organize their occupational lives through occupations at the Balls, consistently producing satisfaction. Doble & Santha (2008) show that it is through occupational well-being that people, based on occupational choices, can address their needs, generating value meanings alluding to the organization and satisfaction with/in life. However, the main ideas of occupational well-being need to problematize the non-individualization of social aspects that influence the processes of organization and satisfaction in life. It is important to highlight the agency of various social institutions, which act to favor the occupational well-being of individuals and groups, legitimizing their various demands.

Still as a particularity of the Baile da Saudade, we highlight that the involvement of the participants in the event triggers affective memories activated by the dance, the music, the organization of the party itself, which recall important moments in the lives of the participants:

[...] it's like a movie playing in our head. I listen to that song by Reginaldo Rossi and I remember when I was 7 years old, waiting for my father to arrive with a huge hot dog for me to share with my brothers [...]. The song A Rosa e o Beija-Flor played, which is in the voice of Markinho Duran [...] I remember the first girl I

kissed. So, I say it's eclectic in time because it reminds you of periods in your life [...] it's like I'm traveling through a whole timeline, remembering things through the music. I can smell it, I can taste it, because I remember that, the music, these periods manage to activate memories which were lost in time in the minds of many people [...] a song plays and the guy takes his beer glass and sings that song, so it's as if he was remembering something he had no idea what had happened, you know? They say that the music itself, Brega, Arrocha, is very cuckold music... It's not, it's not just that, there are people there who remember happy moments, there are people there who remember sad moments, there are people who, when they play that song by Betto Barbosa, cry remembering their mother, when the song by Nenéo "Ai meu pai...♪" is played, there are people crying remembering their father who died [...] (Mauro-Party planner).

Affective memories emphasize the influence of the senses for full involvement in occupations. Bailliard (2013), in a study with Latino immigrants in the United States, highlighted that the change of environment altered sensory information of the subjects in their occupations. Therefore, variations in sensory input could change meanings, well-being and integration with the new place. Likewise, the study carried out by Ratcliff et al. (2002) with women victims of child abuse highlighted that sensory information is important to promote conscious reconnections with one's own body and its developed occupations. For the participants of the Baile da Saudade — by evoking memories and sensations and performative aspects of Bailes from the past — the nostalgic characteristic of the party favors their involvement in the activities performed. Elliot (2011) complements this perspective by highlighting the importance of sensations for favoring awareness in carrying out occupations.

Regional Sociocultural Roots: Baile da Saudade as a Cultural Product

The involvement of the subjects with the Baile da Saudade reveals a sociocultural movement that, over time, evidenced the Brega genre in/for and around the outskirts of Belém. Research participants reported that involvement in the Baile took place from networks composed of family, friends, neighbors and the neighborhood movement, which legitimized the consumption of Brega music and its performances:

Through the influence of many people around where I lived, such as neighbors, uncles, cousins and older colleagues who went to parties and told stories, I listened and was drawn to it. What led me was precisely that culture of being in that environment, close to those people and I lived that from a very early age. It attracted me right away (Edilson-Bregueiro).

[...] my older brother was in love with Guitarrada and at the time there was a branch in the neighborhood where we lived [...] but he was very shy and didn't like to go out alone, so he took me there. I was about 13 or 14 years old when I started going to this branch and when my brother stopped going I continued going there. From then on, I started to like Brega (Valdilene-Bregueira).

Costa (2009) points out the concreteness of a Brega musical culture universe, typically from Belen, sometimes valued, sometimes marginalized, for presenting practices and experiences of peripheral subjects. The presence of radio stations, recording companies, production companies and, mainly, sound systems and party houses contributed to the consolidation of the genre in the city and public recognition, mainly in the periphery. Costa (2009) points out the wide dissemination and involvement with Brega music in events of family, friends and neighbors, animated by sound systems also managed by family members, favoring the identification of elements that underlie the bregueira scene.

We reflect on the Baile da Saudade and its constituent elements as a cultural product. This term does not necessarily portray the identification of something physical with a specific use. There is the symbolic dimension of what is produced and inserted into life habits, generating meanings (Ponte, 2012; Silva, 2008). The cultural product differs from other products, as its social value goes beyond use and exchange values, and does not end with consumption, but is remodeled over time (Ponte, 2012; Silva, 2008).

We consider the importance of the symbolic nature of cultural products, emphasizing the production and consumption of practices, knowledge, objects, etc., which overlap with the values of capital. Even if the tensions linked to the market and mass consumption are not annulled, it is emphasized that the Baile da Saudade produces symbolic meanings through which subjects, over time, identify and become involved. The experience of taking care of/at the parties at the Balls is crossed by meanings of maintaining a cultural practice and/or ancestral legacy, sharing experiences, collective identification, among others, making it impossible to analyze it from a marketing perspective of use and exchange of exclusive way. This issue can be identified in the narrative of the party planner Mauro:

[...] we have to make people give importance precisely to this, our mission is this, this synesthetic thing that the rhythm brings, that the party brings in itself, which is to mix several things/memories. As I told you, I already smell, I already taste, why? Because this identity of the party itself is important (Mauro-Party planner).

We problematize the role of culture as a fundamental mark to inform and produce meanings around occupations, considering space-time, socioeconomic aspects and the group for which a practice is intended. The sociocultural root, played by the aforementioned agents, favored the validation of Bregueira parties and the occupations developed from Brega, mainly on the outskirts of Belém. The cultural lens allows us to know occupations in diversity, going against the hegemonic logic of informing occupations from the Eurocentric perspective (Silvestrini et al., 2019). We can recognize actions, from the Global South, that structure collectives, which can be peripheral, Amazonian and festive (Coelho, 2022).

At the Baile da Saudade, we realize that the party is an important aspect that organizes people's lives, in which a network of occupations and their meanings are activated. The festive practices around Brega favor links between people, places and symbols, which, notably, influence the construction of identities (Rodrigues, 2008).

We argue that the occupations in which subjects engage can influence the construct of human identity (Phelan & Kinsella, 2009). When engagement in certain occupations

affects the personal and collective identification of the person we are, know and want to become, we may be in contact with the phenomenon of occupational identity (Kiepek et al., 2018).

The relationship between occupation and identity has been an emerging issue among occupational scientists, as a dynamic, diverse and complex phenomenon (Phelan & Kinsella, 2014). Authors argue that, throughout human life, involvement in occupations can produce identities (Taylor & Kay, 2015). However, although the individualistic nature of identity is often prioritized, the emphasis on sociocultural influences, even if to a lesser extent, has been problematized (Rudman & Dennhardt, 2008; Phelan & Kinsella, 2009). Phelan & Kinsella (2014) point out the dominant sociocultural forces for the construction of identities and occupations. Taylor & Kay (2015) highlight that the construction of identities is also favored by involvement in leisure occupations, not just focusing on work occupations for this purpose.

The organization of contemporary societies, as well as the established power relations, tend to value certain occupational roles, enhancing the direction of certain occupational choices that, in turn, reflect in the construction of socially valued identities and/or in the production of inequities (Galvaan, 2015; Rudman & Dennhardt, 2008). However, when individuals and collectives engage in socially marginalized occupations, conflicts can be generated (Pyatak & Muccitelli, 2011; Taylor & Kay, 2015). This engagement can, therefore, mean both empowerment and resistance of oppressed people and groups (Taylor & Kay, 2015).

This idea can be related to the engagement of the subjects in the Baile da Saudade. The party — read as a marginalized practice by the elite of urban centers, as well as by the elite of the artistic milieu (Amaral, 2009) — presents other meanings collectively shared by subjects from the periphery. Positive meanings are attributed, in which specific ways of being, doing, becoming, and belonging in the world are expressed, writing historicities throughout life. This question marks the presence of a living experience that establishes relationships with the culture in which the configurations of a space are designed and through which people recognize and identify themselves.

The sociocultural network constituted in the bregueiro circuit comes from the intense relationship between its participants and other constituent elements. The occupations carried out are widely recognized by the subjects, who also recognize themselves in them, generating personal and collective identifications. This movement favored the formation of a group, which over time and in the face of culturally shared knowledge, fostered a kind of tacky sociocultural root, bringing together collective, social, cultural, marketing practices, among others, that direct the involvement of people from the periphery of Belém with Brega (Costa, 2009, 2008; Rodrigues, 2008).

The ideas about belonging seem essential to the reflection on the sociocultural roots of the Baile da Saudade. With involvement in certain occupations, connections with other people, places, cultures, etc., can be developed, influencing the feeling of belonging to the environment and/or shared practice (Hitch et al., 2014; Martin et al., 2020). Belonging can favor the identification of subjects, groups and collectivities that, together, recognize each other. Belonging can also reveal one of the forces through which subjects maintain culturally constructed practices (Castro Júnior, 2008; Martin et al., 2020).

The senses of belonging to the Baile da Saudade are perhaps one of the forces through which the subjects of this movement write the marks of their experiences in the world. The identification of the activities carried out, whether through dance, music or the organization of the party, for example, can establish strong relationships between people, places, practices, stories and symbols that structure the events.

Consumption Practices at the Baile da Saudade: Dissimilarities Between Center and Periphery

Even though Brega from Pará is known as an important genre for building the cultural and performance characteristics of Belém, its consumption presents differences between the center and the periphery of the city, according to the participants. For the DJ, Júnior, the Bailes in the peripheral areas are interpreted by this public as more authentic because of the freedom to play older music, of the traditionality of event venues, and because the general public that attends is, generally, older:

The public from the periphery [...] is the older guard who enjoyed the venues of yesteryear [...]. The Baile da Saudade downtown is not the Baile da Saudade. We can call for the party from downtown Baile Marcante, because Roberto Villar plays [...] Fruto Sensual [...] which is from the 2000s [...]. Am I going to go to a house in the center and play José Augusto? Fernando Mendes? I'm going to end the party [...]. But if we go to a house on the outskirts, then I have to be DJ Júnior of Saudade, because if not, people will criticize me (Júnior-DJ).

Party planner Mauro points out that participants in events in the city center still do not consume the Baile da Saudade because they prefer Bregas from the 90s onwards. The party planner points out that the consumption of Baile is not limited to listening to the songs themselves, but also to participating in the events, identifying and relating to the meanings surrounding Brega, widely disseminated in the periphery:

I think the city center is still not experiencing the issue of Saudade, the center is experiencing Brega. The city center still doesn't know how to point out the difference between Baile da Saudade and Tecnobrega, so much so that they classify it by mixing the genres [...] they are consuming everything as Brega [...] because this difference only exists for us, because we consume it since we are born. Since I've been there on the streets of the outskirts, I've listened to Reginaldo Rossi, I've listened to Mauro Cotta [...] (Mauro-Party planner).

We reflect that the differences of the Bailes da Saudade, pointed out by the participants, follow the expanded perspective of a party that considers the event as a production of everyday life and festive sociability (Amaral, 1998; Costa, 2009; Rodrigues, 2008). The time of the Baile da Saudade can be read as a strategy for the protagonism of multiple actions by a given group (Castro Júnior, 2008). These actions denounce living, collective and individual ways of living and perspectives on the world (Rodrigues, 2008). Producing and/or experiencing the party can be aligned with a direct connection with everyday life, in which certain people's social relationships take place (Guarinello, 2001).

The concept of everyday life is widely used in the theoretical-practical dimensions of Occupational Therapy, and undertakes the basic lens to understand daily occupations and their relationships with subjects and collectivities (Galheigo, 2003, 2020). Daily life has been conceived as day-to-day actions that inform life narratives expressed by space-time, culture and social relations. In this way, the possibility of knowing the concrete experience of human life becomes evident. According to Galheigo (2020):

The reading of everyday life also allows knowing the ways of thinking, acting and feeling of subjects and collectives; the representations that make their experiences amid the hegemonic ideology that creates instituted and results in the instrumentalization of daily life. Daily life, therefore, is experience and knowledge (Galheigo, 2020, p. 8).

The Baile da Saudade can reveal itself as a product of everyday relationships and the sense of continuity of a collective, mostly peripheral and urban, which historically consumes the event and maintains the meanings produced by/for and from the party (Coelho, 2022). The Bailes express ways of being, perceiving and living in the world, in which senses of identity, leisure, cultural and artistic expression are (re)constructed (Costa, 2009; Rodrigues, 2008).

This phenomenon, produced in everyday life and from it, reveals a festive sociability in which a collective of people (sometimes unknown) recognize each other and group together to manage the festive nature of events in which various occupations and social and power relations are highlighted (Costa, 2009; Rodrigues, 2008).

With the dissimilarities between the Baile da Saudade parties in the center and the periphery, we reflect that the relationships, meanings and symbols constructed may be deeply linked to everyday life beyond the party, in which the participating subjects are inserted. The specific contours of a party alluding to the Baile da Saudade, located in the urban center, may lose part of the performative characterization of Baile da Saudade, as the subjects, environments, contexts and, why not, the meanings produced, differ from those where the cradle of the event and established social relationships are developed.

Stigma and Acceptance of the Baile da Saudade

The cultural and artistic manifestations around the Brega genre go through historical processes of social marginalization (Amaral, 2009; Lima, 2016). At the Baile da Saudade, both depreciation and social acceptance of the party were pointed out by the participants. The bregueira Valdilene points out that judgments to the participants of the parties, generally, come from outside the bregueiro circuit. Criticisms arise about lifestyles that apparently do not inform other occupations and socially accepted roles:

Most people see the Baile da Saudade with a view that we are all bums. That's a fact. Many people are prejudiced until they start going. I know people who were very judgmental and suddenly were addicted to it too. [...] the look is distorted [...] it's as if people don't have much to do with their lives, they don't have much life expectancy, but it's not like that [...] in the dance group [...] we have participants from various professions. There is no one in our group who doesn't do anything in

life and in other groups as well. The ones I know are workers and scholars [...]
(Valdilene-Bregueira).

On the other hand, party planner Mauro reported that the derogatory meanings of the party and the participants of the Baile have been decreasing, especially when compared to other musical genres and festive practices that are currently intensely marginalized. For Mauro, society's ways of judging change and directly affect what was previously negatively judged:

Today the story has changed, I see that today the acceptance is greater for the Baile da Saudade. [...] because there has been a change from the point of view of people thinking about the party, how people see the party, but also comparing it with what is played today [...] What was seen 25/30 years ago as subversive, today is the standard of quality, because what came later is totally immoral in relation to what already existed. So I see this acceptance by society in this way [...] (Mauro-Party planner).

The role of the State and the implementation of cultural policies to promote Brega were aspects questioned by the participants in this study. DJ Júnior and bregueiro Mauro shared the idea that the presence of the State is unhealthy for the bregueira culture in the region. They highlight that the realization of festive practices takes place through the active subjects of the movement:

Our culture is not up to par, but I help many singers and many bands. [...] we do help our culture from Pará, but, unfortunately, it is not very strong [...] We could be more united, people could help other people even more, especially the government in this difficult time we are in living [...] (Júnior-DJ).

The State has never held a Baile da Saudade party. The parties are held by the people who are there, daily making the event happen. The events are not publicly produced, but privately held by people who have been in this business for some time (Mauro-Party planner).

It is understood that private groups and communities can implement strategies that promote culture; however, it is also a constitutional role of the State to guarantee access, fruition and cultural creation to every citizen. However, historically, in Brazil, the state incentive to culture has suffered successive dismantling and instabilities regarding its enactment and effectiveness (Rubim, 2020).

Since culture is understood as a basic right to human life, cultural policies serve as basic strategies to carry out actions that strengthen endangered or marginalized cultural practices, as well as to democratize cultural access throughout the country (Coelho, 1997). By cultural policies, it is understood:

[...] as a program of interventions carried out by the State, civil institutions, private entities or community groups with the objective of satisfying the cultural needs of the population and promoting the development of their symbolic representations. Under this immediate understanding, cultural

policy is presented as well as the set of initiatives taken by these agents, aiming to promote the production, distribution and use of culture, the preservation and dissemination of historical heritage and the ordering of the bureaucratic apparatus by they are responsible (Coelho, 1997, p. 292).

Even with the popular recognition and appreciation of Brega in the State of Pará, only in 2015 and later in 2021 were laws approved and signed that consider the genre as Cultural and Intangible Heritage of the Municipality of Belém and as Cultural and Intangible Heritage of the State of Pará, respectively (Belém, 2015; Pará, 2021). In interviews, parliamentarians reported that this achievement signals the recognition of the genre, as well as the appreciation of cultural practices, including singers, composers, musicians and other artists (Pará, 2021).

Reflections on power structures (Quijano, 2009; Santos & Meneses, 2009) seem important for us to understand the social tensions of stigmas and resistance at the Baile da Saudade. The sociopolitical organization of contemporary societies, especially those with colonial pasts, is structured to produce exclusion and inequality (Quijano, 2009). Several strategies are used to order everyday life and actions (Quijano, 2009). This phenomenon structures the maintenance of power to privileged people, groups and institutions that hold social control (Santos & Meneses, 2009).

As a colonial heritage, ways of being and belonging in the world, as well as lifestyles that deviate from the Eurocentric, white, classist, patriarchal, Christian, etc., are marginalized in the micro and macro social dimensions, directly, symbolically and/or structurally (Coelho et al., 2021). Therefore, the popular festival, as it is a social practice, historically linked to meanings that undermine social norms, can suffer successive forms of marginalization, extending to its participants and their daily actions (Castro Júnior, 2008; Coelho et al., 2021).

In this sense, we reflect that occupations, even in diversity, can be read following standardizing perspectives (Angell, 2014). Unsanctioned or deviant occupations, in Occupational Science, are understood as actions that can be perceived as illegal or unacceptable, fleeing an imposed standard of civil normality. When performed by historically oppressed subjects, this phenomenon intensifies (Kiepek et al., 2018; Kiepek et al., 2013).

According to Kiepek et al. (2018), when certain occupations violate traditions, norms, values, behaviors, etc., of a dominant logic, sanctions can range from disapproving looks, gossip, to legal reprimand. For a more comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon, we highlight the sanctions, direct or indirect, to occupations that inform plural lifestyles and with different meanings; occupations that resist the rules of the circadian cycle, the modern capitalist structure and Eurocentric rules.

The phenomenon of Baile da Saudade parties can inform various occupations and their real dynamics, through which individuals organize themselves and leave their records in the world. People's involvement in life can be reflected from practices carried out in festive scenes. Through them, we can visualize networks of occupations and their power dynamics, but which are still capable of producing evaluative meanings through which collectives, not just individuals, wish to continue occupying themselves.

End of the Party? Next Week There Will Be More!

Bye, bye love, I'm leaving. Bye, bye love, the time has come, to say goodbye, to say goodbye and kiss your lips for the last time. Please don't cry if you don't want to see me cry too, because a goodbye is very sad to those who love someone, like I, who no longer am able to live without having you. And tomorrow, so far away, what is it I am going to do? Bye love, until one day when I come back here. Bye love, don't give my love to someone else.

Ivan Peter - Flash Brega. Anos 80.

Available in: <https://youtu.be/Jcz-fnI0cMs>.

We were able to deepen the studies around human occupations from the counter-hegemonic perspective. The central nature of occupations is evident as a basic aspect for structuring the lives of people and cultural groups. Indeed, although subjects and groups are understood as occupational beings, this process is crossed by varied contexts that can produce inequities in certain groups, as well as privileges in others.

However, multiple subjects, groups and communities resist writing different narratives of living life. The occupations around the Baile da Saudade parties in Belém do Pará exemplify this phenomenon. We were able to identify that even though the bregueiro movement is marginalized in the city of Belém, by situating everyday ways of life, symbols and meanings of a mostly peripheral people, the practices around the parties reflect processes of cultural resistance and identity demarcation.

We believe that this study will contribute to the field of Occupational Therapy in the sense of reflecting on human occupations and their structural forces. We highlight the essential role of culture to think about plural and counter-hegemonic occupations. We also believe that occupational therapists can find clues to reflect on emancipatory practices and situated to the demands of subjects and collectives, contesting the power structures that limit life performances.

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Author's Contributions

Flávia dos Santos Coelho was responsible for text conception, organization and analysis of sources, text writing and final revision. Lilian Magalhães was responsible for orientation of the research, text writing and final review. All authors approved the final version of the text.

Funding Source

This work was carried out with the support of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education – Brazil (CAPES) – Financing Code 001. Lilian Magalhães received support from the Brazilian National Council for Scientific and Technological Development, CNPq, through productivity grant 303037/2018-0.

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