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"Transbordações" in the daily practices of embroiderers in the city of Barra Longa – Minas Gerais after the collapse of the Fundão dam

Transbordações nas práticas cotidianas das bordadeiras da cidade de Barra Longa – Minas Gerais após o rompimento da barragem de Fundão

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to discuss the impacts caused to the embroiderers of Barra Longa by the collapse of the Fundão dam in Mariana, Minas Gerais, which occurred in 2015. To this end, we opted for qualitative research, implemented through the application of semi-structured interviews, in loco, in a direct approach with the embroiderers. The objective was to verify if there were changes in the daily social practices of the embroiderers of Barra Longa, after the collapse of the dam, as well as the centrality of embroidery and if this activity is capable of resignifying places and memories. In order to establish a correlation between embroidery and the aforementioned disaster, we first sought to understand its origin and its path until it arrived in Barra Longa, considering its meaning, as well as family tradition, source of income and its place of autonomy. Nine embroiderers of diverse age groups were interviewed over a period of two consecutive days. The results of the interviews were divided into categories, which allowed an analysis closer to the reality experienced. One of the most significant impacts was the loss of family stories told through embroidery, which were passed down from generation to generation. Furthermore, the situation was made worse by material losses and the negligence of the authorities in not giving a voice to those affected, despite the initiative of fashion designer Ronaldo Fraga, who, in the form of art, put the women's embroidery on display at the fashion exhibition at the São Paulo Fashion Week event. Thus, despite so many adversities, it can be concluded that embroidery represents, for them and for the entire region, a source of rescue, joy and income. On the other hand, the coexistence with the embroiderers and the data from the interviews allowed us to verify immeasurable environmental impacts, which time will never be able to remedy.



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Keywords: embroidery; tragedy; environmental impact; dam failure.

RESUMO

O presente artigo propõe discutir os impactos causados às bordadeiras de Barra Longa pelo rompimento da barragem de Fundão, em Mariana - Minas Gerais, ocorrido no ano de 2015. Para tal, optou-se por uma pesquisa qualitativa, implementada por meio da aplicação de entrevistas semiestruturadas, in loco, em uma aproximação direta com as bordadeiras. O objetivo foi trazer à tona as consequências nas práticas sociais cotidianas das bordadeiras de Barra Longa, após o rompimento da barragem, bem como a centralidade do bordado e se este saber cultural é capaz de ressignificar locais e memórias. Para estabelecer uma correlação entre o bordado com o referido desastre, buscou-se compreender primeiramente a origem do bordado e o seu percurso até a chegada em Barra Longa, levando em consideração o seu significado, bem como a tradição familiar, a fonte de renda e o seu lugar de autonomia. Foram entrevistadas nove bordadeiras, com faixas etárias diversificadas, num período de dois dias consecutivos. Os resultados das entrevistas foram divididos por categorias, o que permitiu uma análise mais próxima da realidade vivida. Um dos impactos relevantes foi a perda de histórias familiares contadas através dos bordados, que eram passadas de geração em geração. Ademais, o quadro agravou-se diante de perdas também materiais e a negligência das autoridades em não dar voz aos atingidos, apesar da iniciativa do estilista Ronaldo Fraga, que, em forma de arte, colocou os bordados dessas mulheres em evidência na exposição de moda no evento da São Paulo Fashion Week (SPFW). Desse modo, apesar de tantas adversidades, conclui-se que o bordado significa, para elas e para toda a região, uma fonte de resgate, de alegria e de renda. Por outro lado, a convivência com as bordadeiras e os dados das entrevistas permitiram constatar impactos ambientais imensuráveis, que o tempo jamais conseguirá remediar.

Palavras-chave: bordado; tragédia; impacto ambiental; rompimento de barragem.

1. Introduction

Interest in the embroiderers of Barra Longa arose from a television report produced and broadcast by Rede Globo – Jornal Hoje – on April 23, 2018. The focus of the report was to showcase, through the initiative and perspective of the artist Ronaldo Fraga¹, memories, stitches, and embroidery, in a dialogue between knowledge and fashion, and through a reading that connected them to the collapse of the Fundão dam. According to the artist, his interest in Minas Gerais embroidery and the project developed with the embroiderers stemmed

from a desire to delve deeper into this universe, in which the technique transcends the market and lies at the core of creation and originality of well-crafted embroidery, whose passion spans generations and evokes centuries-old memories.

"This story began when I was invited to go there to meet a group of embroiderers. I arrived, named the project Meninas da Barra Longa² (we say 'girls,' but there are embroiderers in their eighties there). At the first meeting, I asked them to bring embroideries that had fallen out of use, pieces they had kept as precious, and one of them, the master embroiderer who is at the onset of Alzheimer's, brought a chris-

¹ A fashion designer graduated from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) and postgraduate from Parsons School (NY) and Central Saint Martins (UK). He entered fashion – or the craft of fashion – through drawing, graphic recording, the possibility of constructing graphic memory, and the dialogue of graphic memory applied to clothing.

² The group, formed in 2017, is composed of about 30 women aged 17 to 80, and plays an important role in supporting family income, in addition to contributing to the strengthening of the local economy (Fundação Renova, 2019).

tening gown that all her cousins had worn. In Minas, there is a lot of this, of a piece passing from one person to another in the family. 'But mine was much prettier,' she said. And I asked, 'Where is yours?' 'The mud took it,' she replied. 'So, let's embroider another one for the next generation,' I said. I think this is what must be done now. Much has already been said about the tragedy as tragedy. Now, we run the risk of living a cultural tragedy as well, in addition to the environmental one. This knowledge is being lost for many reasons. One of them is that, stigmatized by history, people are receiving their compensations and leaving. I believe this deserves a showcase" (Fraga, 2018).

Ronaldo Fraga (2018) encourages the embroiderers to explore, through embroidery, a story interwoven with the search for identity, resilience, and overcoming barriers after the environmental disaster – an event that negatively affects a society or ecosystem at some level, caused by human action. Through the project Meninas da Barra – As Mudas, the artist challenges the embroiderers to create exclusive pieces using the techniques known as *Richiliê*³ and Ponto livre⁴, with the aim of illustrating the flora that once existed in that region before the destruction caused by the dam collapse.

In Brazil and worldwide, we live, from time to time, with environmental disasters, often considered environmental crimes responsible for numerous transformations in the way of life of many communities and for crises established as a consequence of such tragedies, including definitively undermining the foundations that sustain their well-being (Freitas *et al.*, 2019).

The most devastating environmental disasters are those caused by mineral extraction, due to its specificities. Despite its relevance to the socioeconomic development of human societies, mining is considered a threat to the environment. In recent years, in the state of Minas Gerais, there have been significant dam collapses involving mining companies, such as Mineração Rio Verde, in Nova Lima (2001); Mineração Rio Pomba, in Cataguases/Miraí (2007); Mineração Herculano, in Itabirito (2014); the Fundão Dam, in Mariana (2015); and the Córrego do Feijão Mine Dam, in Brumadinho (2019), all of which recorded immeasurable negative environmental impacts, revealing shortcomings in regulatory oversight (Pinheiro *et al.*, 2019, p. 12).

Events of such magnitude cannot be regarded as accidents but rather as announced tragedies, or even crimes. By constructing large dams with successive heightenings, mining companies take on increasingly greater risks, subjecting local communities to them, even at the expense of compromising environmental preservation and the maintenance of dignity, well-being, and quality of life of residents.

As previously mentioned, in 2015 the Fundão dam burst in Minas Gerais, flooding the cities of Mariana, Bento Rodrigues, Barra Longa, among others. This article seeks to elucidate the consequences of this tragedy for the embroiderers of Barra Longa, located in the interior of Minas Gerais, as

³ A type of embroidery with very traditional characteristics. The name derives from Cardinal Richelieu, who was part of the court of King Louis XIII of France. It is known that, at that time, the cleric established workshops for the production of this type of handicraft intended for the monarchy.

⁴Existe uma diversidade de técnicas de pontos de bordados para decorar os mais diversos tipos de tecido. Na técnica de ponto livre, não existe uma regra rígida, o que mais importa é a criatividade. Basta passar os desenhos ou escritas escolhidas para o tecido, geralmente através do papel carbono, e começar a bordar.

well as to present the community and the culture of these embroiderers.

Barra Longa is known for its typical Minas Gerais hospitality; its cuisine, including artisanal production of cachaça and cheese; its cultural manifestations, such as folia de reis and horseback rides; its scenic beauty, enhanced by waterfalls; and its traditional festivals, which attract many tourists. Among its main attractions is embroidery, which ranks second in employment and income generation, making Barra Longa considered the Brazilian capital of lace.

Embroidery as a source of income is essentially carried out by women, most of whom were denied the right to access education, leaving them with the need to work to survive, care for children, and perform domestic tasks. The women embroiderers of Barra Longa carry in their daily lives marks that give meaning to their existence through the art of embroidery. Embroidery challenges them to bring forth a new way of doing, without the hegemony of preestablished knowledge. It appears as heritage, perpetuating generations often marked by valuable memories. The embroideries bring life to these lives and can indeed be used as an expression of existence (Chagas, 2006).

From this perspective, this study intends to analyze embroidery as cultural knowledge, as a source of collective identity, and its main transformations after the collapse of the Fundão dam. Thus, it arises as a provocation, since the preservation of such cultural knowledge, exclusive to certain communities — in this case, the embroiderers of Barra Longa — can shed light on important nuances of this new context, including the safeguarding of family-historical memories. The embroiderers of Barra Longa can reveal to us aspects of the tension

between Buen Vivir, their cultural experiences, and economic development, especially in the face of the destruction of nature through the dam collapse and the idea of development that regards nature as a resource to be exploited rather than as a subject of rights, as proposed by the Buen Vivir paradigm.

2. Methodology and Ethical Considerations

This study adopts a qualitative, exploratory, and interpretive methodology to approach the lived realities of the embroiderers of Barra Longa. The present proposal is configured as practice-oriented research, which employs theory only as a foundation for problematization, with an interest in producing knowledge about embroidery and resilience.

After submission and approval of this project by the Research Ethics Committee for Human Subjects of the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), CAAE – 36256620.6.0000.5149, and prior to conducting the interviews, the researcher informed the participants of the main objectives of the study and how the interviews would be carried out. The interviews were conducted only after the signing of the Informed Consent Form (ICF), which guarantees confidentiality, the participant's right to withdraw from the study at any time if she so wishes, as well as access to information about the study results. The names of the interviewees are mentioned in this research through acronyms, in order to protect their identities.

3. Data Collection and Method of Analysis

For data collection, the snowball technique, commonly used in social research, was applied, as it allows access to hard-to-reach populations. It is a technique that employs reference chains, a kind of network. Its construction begins with key informants, referred to as seeds, in order to locate individuals with the necessary profile for the study. This first seed indicates another, and so on. Thus, the seeds assist the researcher in identifying the group to be studied.

Our research contacted an embroiderer from Barra Longa who is a member of the Associação Barralonguense de Bordadeiras e Artesãos (ABBA), who served as the first seed. The target population of this project was reached only thanks to the collaboration and availability of this embroiderer. ABBA was founded in May 2003 by a group of 12 embroiderers and artisans, encouraged by the older embroiderers.

Among the nine embroiderers interviewed, 5 (55.5%) had completed high school, 2 (22.2%) had completed elementary school, 1 (11.1%) had incomplete elementary education, and 1 (11.1%) had incomplete high school education. Nevertheless, all of them masterfully carry out their artistic embroidery work, highlighting the importance of producing their own knowledge and specific expertise in this art; that is, low educational attainment does not represent a limiting factor for their abilities. As Sousa (2019, p. 36) points out, "to embroider is to express affection through needles, and although academic writing increasingly attempts to approach human singularities, it is necessary to share this study with personal stories and lived experiences".

The analysis of the interviews made it possible to identify several thematic categories; however, this article addresses the following: Embroidery: a meaning for life and D-Day: the collapse of the Fundão dam – Timeline.

In order to obtain greater fidelity of the information collected in the field, semi-structured interviews were conducted using a previously developed guide. The interviews were recorded with a Sony Icd-px470 4GB Mp3 digital voice recorder. Each session lasted between 30 minutes and up to 2 hours, depending on the availability of time and the topics raised by the embroiderers. The sample size was defined by the participants' attendance on the scheduled dates and times. The recordings were fully transcribed, which allowed capturing and analyzing all the details of the reflections of each actor involved in this stage of the research. Both embroidery itself and the consequences caused by the mud spill in the city were analyzed.

For data processing, thematic content analysis was applied, identifying meaning units as elements of significance within the broader communication. The analytical process comprised the following stages: pre-analysis through floating reading; material exploration, in which meaning units were identified and thematic categories were established; and, finally, the analysis of results and interpretation of the categories in light of the literature (Minayo, 1994).

3.1. Embroidery: A Meaning for Life

The interviewees reported that embroidery is a female practice in the city and that they are not aware of any men who engage in this art. The choices experienced by men and women regarding

what and how to do something – such as activities involving art, in this case embroidery – are linked to cultural constructions of power. This is not unique to this specific time and place, but rather permeates all spheres of life.

Embroidery knowledge has been passed down from generation to generation as a way of keeping local tradition alive and of enabling embroiderers to remain connected to the knowledge and stories of their mothers and grandmothers. Most of them learned embroidery from their mothers, and they speak of this with deep significance. These are memories recovered through needles and threads, a multiple and diverse knowledge that allows the reproduction of everyday scenes as a form of expression and interaction among the embroiderer, the group, and the community in which they are embedded, even as a way of reorganizing spaces and creating new design styles.

In his book The Practice of Everyday Life: Living and Cooking, Michel de Certeau (1996), when discussing eating habits, mentions the invisible, silent, and repetitive everyday practices of tasks carried out, which have their origins in inherited habits and repeated customs – that is, doing something in a certain way simply because it has always been done that way. A parallel can be drawn between these daily practices and embroidery: although embroidery often involves inherited common techniques and practices, it can also be re-signified, as manual expression reveals people's lives and past events.

Mirella Souza Costa, 17 years old, states that she "developed a liking for embroidery by observing her mother's and grandmother's routine," and that she "had no problem balancing studies and sewing." She explains: "I scheduled myself to have private lessons in the morning, go to school in the afternoon, and embroider at night. I believe embroidery needs to be more valued. For me, it is culture, leisure, and therapy." Leisure activities, regarded as spaces for personal and social development, contribute to creating opportunities for transformations in social relationships, serving as spaces for the construction, experience, and reclaiming of citizenship (Sampaio *et al.*, 2011).

The historicities of the embroiderers, their styles, and their ways of embroidering aim to shed light on their life trajectories associated with embroidery, including its role as a source of leisure, both before and after the collapse of the Fundão dam. The impacts caused by the dam collapse, as well as the changes in embroidery styles, guided this research in order to better understand the lives of these women embroiderers.

All the embroiderers interviewed experienced the collapse of the dam in an intense and unique way, providing equally impactful, painful, and striking accounts. These are stories told from the perspective of these women, regarding what took place before, during, and after the tragedy.

The customs of the embroiderers of Barra Longa – embroidering on the doorsteps of their homes, in the town square, or in public spaces in general – were abandoned after the dam collapse. Informal conversations with neighbors and friends, as well as leisure activities in general, were compromised.

Oh, and before the mud as well, it was customary for the women of Barra Longa – I myself did this often – to sew in the square, you know, in conversation circles, on the doorsteps, bringing out our chairs and everything, doing crochet, hand embroidery, the real drawn-thread work. We gathered a lot to do this embroidery together. After the mud, that was lost in history – our history. It is now very rare to see anyone

sewing in the square or in the streets, because our squares were completely taken over by the mud. We don't even have a tree that gives shade in the square. There is no way to sit in the square or on the doorsteps anymore. That too was lost (MAL).

The artistic knowledge of embroidery has revealed women who use this art to give meaning and significance to their lives. Embroidery demonstrates its power of re-signification after the Fundão disaster, bringing moments of pleasure amidst the anguish and pain they experienced.

The history of embroidery in Barra Longa is corroborated by the accounts of AMP and MAL, which highlight its origins and contribute to the understanding of the quality of these embroideries.

> Embroidery has been in Barra Longa since the time the bandeirante first arrived here. That is, before the city was even founded. And when they came exploring, there were already people embroidering. And now, just recently, it was discovered why our embroidery is so perfect. Because it came with a family from Portugal, from Madeira Island. They say the origin of our embroidery is from Madeira Island. Well, I don't know how embroidery is done there, but I've heard it is very refined. That it is the land of embroidery, and it was a family from there who brought embroidery here. I have no idea what the family's name was. A researcher discovered this - she kept digging until she found out. The one who founded the city was a certain Mathias Barbosa⁵. He was the first to arrive here, right? I think that's it, I think it was Matias his name. But that family had already come with him. They weren't an important family, though. They just liked to embroider. I don't know exactly how it was, but that's the comment I heard. That's all, because I

wasn't the one who researched it, right? Tomorrow MAL will explain it better to you, okay? (AMP).

Well, I don't know the exact year, but there are some things I can tell you. When I really started to professionalize myself in embroidery, in this tradition here in Barra Longa, I got very involved and sought to learn more. What happens is this: Barra Longa, ever since the Portuguese came to Brazil, was also colonized by the Portuguese. We have two linguistics professors from Barra Longa who teach at UFMG. In their research, they reported that Barra Longa was colonized by people from Madeira Island, the Portuguese from Madeira in Portugal. And that's why this embroidery is so refined, right? This embroidery where everyone has a piece at home, you know? I come from a traditional family; I had a grandmother who used to do old crivo, a very characteristic crivo of this region, and also matiz, which was practiced here too. So, I believe that's it, right? And here we used to have old embroidery workshops, like Budi's I don't know her full name, I only know she was called Budi. She worked with Richelieu, machine embroidery, on those old foot-pedal machines. And there was Dona Lalá's workshop, which specialized in matiz embroidery, the little stitches, and there was also the crivo embroidery, which came from my relatives - the northern crivo and this older crivo that was done by Zica and Marica. These are the things I know. Dona Lalá, she had a problem with her leg, she limped, and she was a teacher. When she realized she couldn't work anymore, she started embroidering, embroidering trousseaus. People came from many places bringing the entire family's trousseaus, especially for the young women who were getting married, for her to embroider. And today, we continue the tradition of embroidery, which extends throughout the territory. In the rural communities, we have many embroiderers. There is crochet, which is very well done here in Barra

⁵ Around 1711, Matias da Silva Barbosa arrived in the locality at the request of the governor of the time to fight the Botocudo and Acaiaba Indigenous peoples, receiving in return a vast expanse of land, where the Fazenda dos Fidalgos was then established, giving rise to a small settlement named Matias Barbosa. The origin of the current name of the town is linked to the confluence of the Carmo and Gualaxo do Norte river (Prefeitura Municipal de Barra Longa, 2021).

Longa. And there was also a family here who used to make fringes – today they call it macramé, but back then they used to call it Franja de Brólia or Franja de Abrolhos, I'm not sure, but here in Barra Longa they used to say Brólia. There was a family that did this Brólia work here in Barra Longa, which today is known as Macramé. (MAL).

The history of the embroiderers of Barra Longa is situated within the feminine cultural universe, that is, embroidery naturalized as part of women's lives. In this regard, Malta (2015) provides data on the existence of this culture, including in girls' schools.

Learning both at home and in girls' schools reinforced the idea of the naturalization of sewing in the life of nineteenth-century women, almost as if it were something atavistic to the feminine. Every young girl received her piece of cloth, learned her first stitches with her mother or an instructor, and stored her favorite motifs in a kind of sampler as proof of her progress. Many of these cloths were transformed into framed works and adorned sewing and bedrooms, or were kept as keepsakes, as an emblem of youthful inclinations (Malta, 2015).

In the learning process, the teacher provided the model and the colors, and the beginner strove to observe and learn to reproduce them, seeking to achieve the perfection of the master. Both the front and the reverse of the embroidery were expected to receive the same level of care and refinement.

I... always embroidered a little something. There wasn't much to embroider, because we didn't have many resources – in fact, we had no resources at all. Later, when I was ten, I went to school. At that school, an orphanage –because I wanted to study, and there was no school in the countryside where I lived – I had a cousin who studied there and got me a spot. I

was very small, and there the girls had a schedule for handicrafts. But I was so little, so small, that no one trusted me. It was no use, no one trusted me with a needle and thread. So what did I do? I would get hold of a needle – sometimes an older girl would give me one – and I would pick up the threads they dropped on the floor from their embroidery, take scraps of fabric, doll clothes, and embroider. That was the only resource I had; I had no money and couldn't buy materials to embroider anything, so that was my way, right? I embroidered. My little dolls had a complete trousseau, all embroidered with bits of thread. And that's how I started... (AMP).

The boarding school was the only possible resource for AMP to aspire to dreams beyond what her reality allowed – a reality without resources. Education in boarding schools followed the model of education for young women, with classes in handicrafts, preparing them for domestic life with the goal of producing accomplished young ladies (Chagas, 2007). For AMP, even that was denied, and she had to fight, learning with scraps of thread she collected from the floor or that were donated by older girls.

The first steps in learning embroidery involve a sense of community-based learning, preserving family and local traditions, and should be regarded as a place of freedom. When studying social groups, such as the embroiderers of Barra Longa, one may encounter cultural practices like those described by Canedo (2009) – that is, practices centered on care, which can be extended to the care of the family, for example, embroidering pieces passed down from generation to generation as affective memories.

In embroidery, women – normally subservient to the will and commands of their husbands – used sewing circles or even solitary work as a form of control, power, and autonomy over their creations.

This occurred in a Brazilian society that, being strongly patriarchal, did not even grant women authority over domestic decoration, which was theoretically considered part of the feminine sphere (Malta, 2015). Embroidery reinforces collectivity among women when they gather to carry out this practice. They weave together, away from men, share stories, and in those moments assume creative autonomy despite being confined to domestic spaces (Sousa, 2019).

Embroidery, as a female practice confined to the domestic sphere, also reveals something invisible yet powerful: a space of freedom for creation, and, when collective, a space of knowledge exchange among women, one teaching the other. AMP, for example, in her struggle to embroider, did not accept the discredited place that the boarding school offered her; instead, she sought, with small scraps of fabric and thread, the elaboration of her own creations.

Well... since almost a baby, because embroidery... we are born already seeing embroidery. I learned my first embroidery stitches when I was very little. I remember my mother was teaching a girl – she was either a pre-teen or at least much older than me. And the moment I saw my mother teaching that girl, I burst into tears, cried until she gave me a needle, some thread, and a piece of cloth, because I wanted to embroider. And that's how I started. I learned my very first stitches – imagine what a wonder that turned out to be, right? You can't even picture it... But that's

how it was (AMP).

Ah... I don't know, it was many years ago. My mother used to embroider, so I learned embroidery from her. I must have been around nine or ten when my mother started to teach me. My sisters also embroider to this day — one has already passed away, but I still have two sisters who also embroider a lot (RBFF).

I started with my mother, right? My grandmother embroidered, my aunt too. My grandmother used to spin with those spindles⁶ you know? So she made the fabric, the cloth, and on that fabric she embroidered crivo work⁷, she made tablecloths, made everything. And it went from great-grandmother to grandmother, from grandmother to mother, and my mother taught me as well. Then I learned to make hems⁸, to do matiz⁹, to do everything (MCP).

I was born in Ponte Nova, but I have always lived in Barra Longa. So I would watch my mother embroider and I learned from her. Ah... I was about ten years old. She would set up the framework, and I would finish it. She did it, and I embroidered (LGR).

Images and memories, woven into the fabric of life, give a special form to each individual's memory, as they intertwine past and present and connect ancestors and descendants in the construction of the self, based on knowledge acquired and objects that belong to this domain of knowing (Sousa, 2019).

⁶ A hand-carved wooden tool used for weaving, with an upper spiral spindle and rotating thread.

⁷ The crivo, also known as labyrinth embroidery or simply labyrinth, is a type of traditional embroidery from the northern region of Brazil, made with fine fabrics such as linen. The crivo point arrived in Brazil with Portuguese colonization in the seventeenth century and was widely used for embroidering trousseaus.

⁸ To tie a knot at the end of a stitch in embroidery, sewing, tapestry, etc., in order to prevent it from unraveling.

⁹ Color resulting from the combination of different colors in paintings, embroideries, fabrics, etc.

¹⁰ Ornament or frame placed along the outline of an object, a garment, typographic material, etc.

The weaving of life, for it to be a beautiful work, does not require golden threads, embroidery with precious stones, diamonds, or other riches applied to linen fabrics. AMP seems to live the experience of flow in life, this wonder of existence. She experiences life as a gift (Krenak, 2018), and her embroideries portray the textures of her stories.

AMP's life returns to us a sense of existence prior to the modern world, which fragmented us, colonized us, and introduced mass production. Her life production is integral; work, affective life, and everything that composes it are not separated, pointing us toward *Buen Vivir*.

Buen Vivir, as a new form of social organization, implies the expansion of individual and collective potentialities – which must be discovered and fostered. It is not about developing the person; it is the person who must develop herself. For this, as a fundamental condition, everyone must have the same possibilities of choice, even if they do not have the same means. The latter, moreover, cannot be concentrated in a few hands. A person must strengthen her capacities in order to live in community and social harmony, as part of Nature (Acosta, 2016, p. 201).

Alberto Acosta (2016) further emphasizes that initiatives in the pursuit of *Buen Vivir* tend to construct new historical meanings that, consequently, foster ways of life that are more dignified, often distant from materialist and consumerist satisfaction.

What is at stake is not simply the increasing and permanent production of material goods, but the satisfaction of human needs while living in harmony with Nature. *Buen Vivir*, however, has a transcendence that goes beyond merely meeting needs and accessing services and material goods (Acosta, 2016).

In some ways, the daily organization of the embroiderers connects with certain ideas of Buen Vivir. Within their possibilities, even if simple and with limited opportunities, they seek to build lives with meaning and in harmony with their surroundings. Thus, each space of the city and their homes carries meaningful stories to be told, for they reveal the expansion of their potentialities and life histories not fragmented by the chronology of urban time, with separate schedules for each activity. The activities of embroidering, cooking, and caregiving are all interconnected. Work, leisure, home, and street are not split and do not have such precise boundaries. Hence, we can say that, with a predominantly feminine presence, embroidery sometimes embodies the sense of heritage and recovery of lived histories, sometimes of work and income, and also of leisure.

3.2 D-Day: Collapse of the Fundão Dam – Timeline

On Thursday, November 5, 2015, the town of Barra Longa – MG, with a territory of approximately 383.628 km² and an estimated population of 5,015 inhabitants (IBGE, 2020), began its day routinely, following its normal inland pace. Meanwhile... at the Fundão dam, located in the subdistrict of neighboring Bento Rodrigues, 35 km from Mariana...

2:00 p.m. – First tremor. Employee Andrew Oliveira (22 years old) reported that, around noon, he felt tremors. When he alerted the authorities to the event, he was informed that such occurrences were common and that he could continue working as usual.

3:00 p.m. – Collapse and inspection. Engineer Lopes, from Samarco, reported that the collapse

occurred only one hour after the inspection. One may then ask: what kind of inspection was this that failed to detect cracks?

3:30 p.m. – Luck was all that remained. The population, unaware of the tragedy about to unfold, did not receive any siren warnings. Paula Alves, a local resident, as soon as she learned of the collapse, got on her motorcycle and went through the village warning others about the approaching mud (Carneiro, 2018).

The Fundão Tailings Dam was an earthwork structure built to retain solids from the effluents generated in the processing of iron ore at the Germano industrial unit of Samarco. Due to a series of factors, the dam collapsed at around 4:30 p.m. on November 5, 2015. Among the most immediate causes were design modifications, disregard for irregularities that had been reported and documented in internal and external audits, failures in construction and maintenance, and deficient monitoring of the reservoir (Pinheiro *et al.*, 2019, p. 164).

In addition to rumors and information transmitted through phone calls within the local community, the news of the dam collapse reached MCP, who stated that she first learned about it through Rede TV's newscast, around 5:00 p.m.

I was at home. It was five in the afternoon when it came on Rede TV. I was watching Rede TV and they said: 'The Mariana dam has burst.' That was the news. Then people said: 'But it won't get here, it won't get here!' My brother said: 'Mud is very strong, wherever it hits, it drags everything away.' Later that night, he said: 'I'm not going to sleep; I'll go to the square,

because if help is needed, we'll be there to help.' He left, and I said: 'Well, I'm not going to sleep either, am I?' I sleep upstairs and he sleeps downstairs. I went down and stayed by the window that faces the street (MCP).

From that point on, a succession of disasters unfolded. In this context, the word disaster does not refer solely and exclusively to the collapse itself, but encompasses a series of subsequent events – events that have proven resistant to time and space, with negative and devastating effects. The absence of information was a determining factor in the establishment of chaos.

It was on November 5, 2015. I have a nephew who lives in Ouro Preto; he called me - it was about four thirty in the afternoon, almost five o'clock -and he said: 'Aunt, a tragedy has happened,' you know? And I said: 'What is this, Gilberto!' He explained what it was. Then I started telling people here. Folks here were calling Ouro Preto, calling Mariana, calling friends, but no one was giving clear information. Neither the police, nor I think the employees themselves – no one was saying exactly how big it was. I don't think even they themselves knew it would turn out the way it did. Then I didn't know whether to go to the square or come back here, but I was worried. And everyone in town was kind of disoriented, but not believing it would be as bad as it was. When it reached Gesteira¹¹, you've heard of Gesteira, rightwhen it reached Gesteira, I think it was about eleven o'clock. I can't say for sure, because I'm not completely certain, but I think it was around eleven, maybe midnight. The people there were already waiting as well (RBFF).

¹¹ Located 18 km from Barra Longa (MG), the district of Gesteira Velha was one of the localities affected by the collapse of the Fundão dam on November 5, 2015. The community that lived on the banks of the Gualaxo do Norte River had its daily life and ways of living disrupted. In total, twenty families, eight residences, one business establishment, eleven plots of land, one Catholic church, a soccer field, and a school were affected. (Fundação Renova, 2020).

No one believed it! It all happened so fast, with many people saying it wouldn't come. My mother's nephew, who lives in Ouro Preto, called us – it was a little after five o'clock – and said that something had burst there and he thought it was coming our way. No one believed it, because later the man from Civil Defense came running, saying: 'No, there's nothing.' But we didn't sleep, right? Everyone else went to bed... we stayed awake the whole night, ready to get out of the house quickly. No one believed it – it was something no one had ever seen, you know? It was unimaginable (DFFB).

Of non-natural occurrence, this and many other disasters involving dam collapses could possibly have been avoided if stricter and more effective preventive measures had been taken. It is also evident that, in the case of Fundão, the situation was aggravated by the lack of accurate and reliable information provided by Samarco to the competent city authorities and to the population, especially on the day of the collapse, since the siren that existed – and should have sounded to alert the population – did not go off.

According to a document organized by the Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAB), on the crime of the Fundão dam collapse, published in November 2016, Samarco falsified documentation and concealed information in order to obtain authorization from state environmental agencies, with the objective of maintaining the dam's operation.

According to the Prosecutor's Office, there is evidence that Samarco promoted significant alterations to the Fundão dam illegally, without any license or oversight, and that the company misled environmental agencies by presenting studies, reports, and technical documents containing serious omissions in the licensing and inspection processes.

These crimes reflect Samarco's repeated conduct of environmental licensing fraud and the illicit operation of its activities. Furthermore, the Federal Police indicated that 28% of the tailings dumped in Fundão in 2014 originated from Vale and did not have an environmental license (MAB, 2016, p. 12).

Continuing with the timeline, on that late afternoon of November 5, the local population partially trusted, according to the embroiderers, the information provided by local authorities, who claimed, based on "reliable sources", that the mud would not reach the town of Barra Longa. However, some residents went down to the square to keep watch over the river. According to them, if the information had been accurate, there would have been enough time to remove their belongings, thereby reducing losses.

We would go up to him (the lieutenant of the civil police) and ask, and he would say: 'Look, the guidance I have is that the mud will not get here, this information came from above (from Samarco), it came from there.' So, I was going to believe what came from them, not from rumors (ATLV).

Then we went down to the square. And at that moment, the sense of ease was gone, you know? There was tension – one person saying one thing, another person saying something else. So, since he (the lieutenant of the civil police) was the authority at that moment here, the one in charge of the town, we didn't move, and no one else did either (ATLV).

And we were watching the river rise and everything. Then people came closer, repeating the guidance that he (the lieutenant) had received and passed on to me, my children, and my neighbors. Because everyone asked him (the lieutenant). Then another police officer who was on the bridge – a bridge somewhere up there, where the two rivers meet, and it had broken – the lieutenant went after that officer, and it was in our car.

The bridge almost swept the police away, because it was night, and the man seemed a bit inexperienced, you know... and just in time the lieutenant arrived and said: 'Get out of there, because the water will sweep you away.' Then they left in the patrol car. And the moment they left, the bridge collapsed, and the water came crashing in! Water and mud. That's how it was.... (ALTV).

We were all in the square. Then everyone who lived near the square tried to take things out. I took some of my belongings from my house to a house further up, some people helped me, my husband also arrived, and we placed things higher up, thinking it was just water and not much, that it wouldn't turn out the way it did. We put everything on top of the furniture to see what we could save. But within five minutes, the water – no, the mud – was already in my house, right there on the corner (ATLV).

These were impactful and extremely tense experiences, as the embroiderers recounted in great detail – and at times even with tears in their eyes – what took place in the hours following the arrival of the mud.

On the day of the collapse, it was an experience that, honestly, I don't even like to remember. If I cry, please... okay? It was a unique experience, one I wouldn't want anyone to go through. Not even my worst enemy – of course, I don't have one, but still, in case someone doesn't like me. Because my husband was off work that day, and people were saying that the dam had burst and all, and we were at a friend's house, drinking beer and having a pizza night. We even joked: 'No, the mud won't reach here, not that mud... (ATLV).

At a certain moment that I'm telling you about, we looked at the storm drains – because that's the first thing we check, whether the water is rising there. As long as it doesn't rise in the drains, there's no danger

of it reaching the square. But once it started rising in the drains, then in no time it would reach the square (Figure 1). When we saw it rising, everyone was watching the river, but by then it had already overflowed its bed, its banks - the mud had already spilled out, and everyone started running. It came like this, you know, like when you throw water on the ground and it runs off. Everyone running, running, and the mud right behind us. But it was fast - it didn't take fifteen minutes. The mud didn't catch anyone, can you believe it? Only Margarida. She lives right on the square. So she came out of her house with the mud already up to her knees. We were shouting at her: 'Get out, get out, get out!' And she was still trying to put her things away. When I went to open the gate – they told me I had to leave the gate open - so I ran across to open it, and just as I was about to reach it, the mud knocked the gate down. And my son was shouting, 'Mom!' while I kept running, running. In less than fifteen minutes, there was one meter and fifteen centimeters of mud here on my stairs. The only luck was that the house is elevated (RBFF).

The embroiderers said that the noise caused by the sea of mud sounded like the end of the world, or like thunder, or like a waterfall. In fact, they could not precisely describe what the noise resembled, but it was striking for them, as they gestured with their arms while speaking, trying to indicate something immense. One only needs to observe the pillars of the monument above (Figure 2) to see the height the mud reached.

The noise sounded like a waterfall, but it's something we don't even like to remember, girl, and the mud reached the fifth step of my stairs (RBFF).

I was at my sister's house, right? All of a sudden, it was during the night when it happened – that crash hit the door there on the square, it destroyed the whole town. Then I went to my other sister's house, who



FIGURE 1 – Manoel Lino Mol Square, the main square of Barra Longa. SOURCE: Fundação Renova (2021).

lives up the hill. I had to leave in a hurry, and my mother also had to be carried to my sister's house, the other sister (SCR).

When it got down here, to Barra Longa, we calculated it was around three thirty in the morning, when that noise began. Some people had gone to the bridge in Gesteira and came back frantically with their phones, showing the sound and that the bridge had collapsed.



FIGURE 2 – Square covered by mud. SOURCE: Vale (2016). Photo by Leandro Couri.

It hadn't reached here yet. Then, about half an hour later, it began to arrive here. We were on the square, and at night you could see very little, since the mud was dark, right? So we began to hear that roar, that roar, that roar, girl! (RBFF).

Wasn't it around three in the morning that it arrived, making such a roar, as if the world was ending! My goodness! Something like that... I don't even know, as if everything was being destroyed. Because the mud came sweeping through, and wherever it passed, the bamboo groves... because there were a lot of

bamboo groves there – well, there still are along the riverbank (MCP).

The noise was infernal, madness – we saw those huge pipelines pass by, I still can't define it. You couldn't really see well, you could only see the mud in the square, everything flooded. When dawn started to break, and that crazy noise – I can't even tell you what it was like, from an airplane to the sound of a raging sea, pounding and everything (MAL).

When it started getting light, we saw entire bamboo stalks coming down, cars rolling through the square, and those giant Samarco pipelines used for the slurry pipeline. It was so cruel (MAL).

Families were unable to protect themselves from the worst, once again due to the lack of information. There was no time to remove their belongings, and those who minimally believed that the mud would reach them managed to save only a few items from their homes.

For some, the siren was a neighbor, a child, or a friend – in a true word-of-mouth chain of uncertainties, which perhaps would not have existed had a single siren been sounded.

In an instant it came out of the riverbed. Before it even left the riverbed, I said: 'Let's take out the machines, the little washing tank, and the cars that were down here – two cars.' And my son-in-law said: 'Stop being impatient, that won't reach here.' I said: 'Take the cars out, because if you don't, later there will be no way.' Then he went and took the cars out. Do you see that gate there? It passed through there. And I left the gate closed, and we went to the square to see what would happen (RBFF).

The sergeant himself, who had only recently moved to Barra Longa – he had been living here for three months – lost everything. He lived right there on the square, and the river was very low. For us, a dam meant water; no one imagined that what was coming was mud. There was no way – no one could have imagined even a fraction of what came. When it arrived, there was no time for anything else (IFL).

Then someone would pass by and say: 'Ah, my furniture is still there. My daughter called me to take the furniture out of the store.' And I said: 'I'm not going to take it.' And she kept insisting, arguing with me to take it out. I even commented – she's a young

woman who has a shop there: 'If I were you, I'd take it out. It's better for people to laugh at you for moving things out now and not losing them, than for you to lose everything and cry later over the damage.' And she went and took it out (MCP).

Disbelief in the event itself, due to the absence of information, resulted in irreparable losses. Although there was no loss of life in Barra Longa, there were losses of material goods, including embroideries handed down as maternal inheritances, kept as relics, which were buried by the mud. "Their lives changed from water to mud". (Ferreira, 2018, p. 102).

The backlands will turn to sea
And the sea turning to mud
The bitter taste of the Rio Doce
From Regência to Mariana
Those who look from above, from high up, or on TV in seconds
Sometimes see everyone, but see no one
And do not see the nobility of those who have little, but love
Of those who defend what they love and value what they have
(Gabriel O Pensador, 2018).

For IFL, the value of her embroideries is expressed in her words, as she refers to them with the same affinity and affection as for a loved one placed at risk of death and in need of rescue.

I was at home around 4 p.m. When it (the mud) reached Barra Longa, it was already past one in the morning. They said to leave, but no one believed it would rise to the level it did. And when it was time to leave my house, I was rescuing my embroideries, my machines, trying to move them from one place to another, but it was all in vain (IFL).

The accounts of IFL are striking, considering her health condition, as she suffers from Parkinson's disease and was unable to leave her house, remaining trapped there with her husband. They were rescued by some young men using a small boat. Completely paralyzed, she had to jump from the rooftop, together with her husband, into the boat in order to be rescued, which resulted in an injury to her leg.

Then, when we went to leave the house, the mud was already entering the garage, which is the lowest part of the house, and we had forgotten about that detail. When I tried to go out, the mud was already up to my knees. I pulled my husband and said: 'Come back with me, I can't make it out, I'll fall into the mud and be swept away.' We went back up to the rooftop, everyone else left, and the two of us — my husband and I — were trapped on the rooftop with that sea of mud all around the house (IFL).

Then my friends called me and said: 'Stay calm, the fire department is coming to get you.' And I kept thinking: how could the fire department come through all that mud, at that height, to get me? Then three young men – whom I owe my life to – managed to get a small boat, really small, and tied several ropes to it. People were holding the ropes so it wouldn't tip over, and they rowed in, entered the garage that was open, and we jumped from the rooftop stairs into the little boat and got out. When we left the garage, the fire department arrived, but my husband and I were already out. It was such anguish, such anguish – I had no more tears left to cry. It was very sad. But we survived, and that is what matters (IFL).

Of the nine embroiderers interviewed, only AMP and LGR, who live in the upper part of town, reported not having lost material possessions – that is, they were indirectly affected. They consider that

all residents, without exception, were negatively impacted in some way. According to AMP, "no one escaped!" Those who did not suffer material losses endured psychological harm.

According to Zhouri *et al.* (2016), in order to grasp the notion of social suffering, it is necessary to move beyond the medical perspective – through which the suffering of those affected can be measured by reports, examinations, and specific diagnoses – and toward the understanding of other sociocultural aspects that encompass such suffering.

Months after the occurrence of this environmental disaster, uncertainties prevailed, marked by ongoing debates about the toxicity of the mud and the contamination of soil and groundwater. These raised concerns about the lack of clarity surrounding a series of issues, such as the contamination of food produced in the region and its possible relationship with the illness of the affected population.

Biazon (2018) states that, over time, there may be some improvement; however, the destruction was incalculable, to the point that a return to the way things were before is impossible. Wherever the mud passed, losses remained, with direct and indirect negative impacts across multiple spheres.

So, the mud didn't enter my house directly because I live up on the hill... But it did enter my house, from the moment it reached the street, because just the stench alone nearly knocked us out – I had never smelled mud as foul as the mud that came down our river. On Casa das Artes street it didn't reach, not on this street, but down below it did. For months and months and months we had to live with that terrible stench, and then came the dust, because everything dried up. The dust stained every single house here in Barra Longa – there wasn't one left untouched (AMP).

I was at my mother's house in the countryside when people said: 'It's over, Barra Longa is destroyed.' Then my brother put us in the car, and when we came, everything was flooded with mud. We couldn't even get in. We went back to the countryside (Capela Velha farm). I felt such despair, my goodness! (LGR).

I lost everything. Barra Longa and the whole region were affected, because in one way or another, if you weren't directly hit by the mud, your friend was, and you suffered for your friend, you know? And the dust, the mud – and when you went to see your friend, you had to go through the mud. Sometimes it wasn't even possible to get through, because the mud was too thick. It was very complicated (IFL).

D-Day (the dam collapse) brought with it despair, disillusion, disaster, hopelessness, discouragement, desolation, depression, destruction, and distrust. Yet all of this could have been avoided if actions to protect the "integral environment" and emergency evacuation plans had existed and been implemented. Although sirens were in place, they were never activated. The population was warned through phone calls, with little effectiveness. Of the four telephone numbers of public agents provided by Samarco, only two were active: one belonging to a student and the other to a former head of Civil Defense who had been out of office for seven years (Ferreira, 2018).

Amid so many testimonies, circumstances, evidence, and negligence in this announced tragedy, RBFF stated that she intends to continue embroidering for as long as it is God's will, in an attitude of faith and hope: If someday I have to stop – well, only God knows, right? – if I lose my eyesight and can't do it anymore, we don't know what life will bring! God knows, but as long as I am able, I will keep on embroidering. (RBFF).

When RBFF places her hope in continuing to embroider, if God so permits by preserving her vision, she invokes faith as a semantic and symbolic force. The word faith, this small term filled with meanings, normally used across many spheres of life – from what might be considered banal contexts to extreme situations that escape rationality – also assists us in moments of reflection, of returning to ourselves, and of disorientation in the face of a world assumed to be ready-made (Contaldo, 2019, p. 116).

Place transcends Nature as a resource and reaches the dimension of existence with the sacred. The spiritual place is where the earth rests, and if a place is sacred, it is because Nature itself transcends its perception as a resource (Krenak, 2018, p. 2).

The embroiderers, in various moments, demonstrate resilience and the desire to restore their lives by turning to the sacred. In the face of so many losses and the chaos unleashed, they resort to faith as a tool of overcoming and hope, in a clear perception that their "integral environment" and their natural surroundings suffered unforgivable violations with the collapse of the Fundão dam.

The reverse side is an essential part of embroidery and of the women who embroider, for it expresses a unique subjectivity. Embroidery takes shape in the transit between duplicities – front and back, visible and invisible, macro and micro-creating an affective cartography (Dias, 2019). This duplicity and singularity were altered by the mud. Their stories, memories, silences, and suffering became visible, growing within this reverse side of an unforeseen life.

According to the testimonies, the overflowing river turned their lives inside out, carrying with it a foul-smelling mud and much debris, staining the fabrics and painting everything once colorful in shades of brown and orange. Art gave way to suffering and pain, for during the dam collapse, the beauty of the reverse side of their embroidery was lost. Embroidery was pushed to the margins, but fortunately it survived and now sustains life. "Embroidery helped us a lot there. At least to recover our self-esteem, right? ... because, you know, we used to do everything with such joy, and then suddenly to see it all go..." (MCP). "When I do my embroidery and crafts, I forget all that suffering! I go far away!" (ALTV).

Commonly, the marginalization of embroidery brings forth the need to look at the other side of the fabric, as an image of unraveling and weaving a poetic practice—an expanded vision of this knowledge, even as a source of recovery and resilience (Padilha, 2018). The mud took almost everything, but it did not take away the hope of better days, with the joy of continuing to embroider. Perfect stitches give art to life and life to art, the final result being beauty carved into fabric.

5. Final Considerations

This research made it possible to bring to light experiences woven through the intertwining of needles and threads, colored into the fabric of life. Embroideries full of memories, stories, and joys that resist the pain and suffering caused by the tragedy in Barra Longa. The sea of mud poured over the city altered the nuances of the threads of life's fabrics, staining them in brown and orange. The dynamics of this context, revealed through the embroiderers' accounts, highlighted the breadth of the problem and its possible consequences and

repercussions. Therefore, this investigation did not aim to close discussions, but rather to contribute to the understanding of the facts and foster future debates related to the themes addressed.

The encounters with the embroiderers brought forth important facets as well as surprising and revealing accounts. The flow of the conversations unfolded according to each woman's reaction and need to reveal her stories and experiences, in line with the marks left along each individual and collective path.

In the face of a tragedy of the magnitude of Fundão, embroidery emerges as a force of resilience and as a means of maintaining the psychic and physical structure of the embroiderers, as well as a vital element to continue life with at least some measure of joy. The emotional testimonies demonstrate this power of embroidery as a transformative element, which, as an aesthetic experience, rescues memories, strengthens the community and cultural sense of a society, and survives across generations.

In connection with the feminine, embroidery offers a representation of identity traits, where femininity and the veiled discrimination against this art invite reflection on tradition and modernity, given that embroidery remains, even today, in the hands of women alone. The woman, idealized through the delicacy expressed in the quality of embroidery finishing, comes into conflict with the woman who resists domestication and constantly seeks her space in society.

The weaving of threads and needles links the act of embroidering with the time dedicated to this work, attributing deeper meanings enriched with familiarity, culturality, and historicity, in a true cycle of collective growth. Embroidery and sewing are

part of this meaning and evoke family memories, bringing back childhood recollections. Grandmothers and mothers are the link that sustains this learning, passing it on to subsequent generations.

Embroidery, pushed to the margins by the Fundão disaster, functioned as an instrument of resistance and gave visibility to the chaos experienced by the inhabitants of Barra Longa. Brazil and the world came to witness the destruction and the pain through various media outlets and also through Ronaldo Fraga's initiative, who, in his SPFW fashion show, transformed the art into a portrayal of mud. Restoring these embroiderer-artists' self-esteem and visibility was essential for rescuing their identity and their sense of belonging as a group that has built its importance over decades.

The embroiderers recognize the losses suffered during and after the dam collapse and carry, in their memory and testimonies, detailed accounts of what happened. These were material, emotional, health-related, and dignity-related losses, as well as the loss of hope for even minimal reparations. Among these losses are the places where they enjoyed embroidering, which were occupied by workers from the companies responsible for the city's destruction. Public spaces, such as squares and doorsteps, which had once been used by them as meeting places for needle and thread and as leisure spaces where lives and stories were shared, were transformed into spaces of city reconstruction, with the intense circulation of workers.

After this tragedy, the "integral environment" was compromised, affecting quality of life and *Buen Vivir*; social relations no longer occurred with the same intensity and quality as before. All of this undermined emotional and psychological well-being and generated collective illness.

In order to rebuild the city and the knowledge that existed there, it is essential to consider the pursuit of territorial autonomy with its cultural identities. For compensation and reparation, leisure and *Buen Vivir* should be considered as integrated practices, capable of constructing local subjectivities with meaning for life in society. The homogenizing trends stemming from the development imposed by the system to which society is still subjected, cannot provide the *Buen Vivir* that existed prior to the dam collapse in the lives of these women.

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