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Affective memories of older adults regarding play in the far North of Brazil



¹ ⁴ ⁵ Universidade Federal do Norte do Tocantins – UFNT. Centro de Educação, Humanidades e Saúde/Campus de Tocantinópolis. Rua 6, s/n, Bairro Vila Santa Rita. Tocantinópolis - TO. Brasil. ² Universidade Federal do Maranhão – UFMA. ³ Universidade de Brasília – UnB & Physical and Health Education Canada – PHE, Canada.

Author for correspondence: mayrhon@gmail.com

ABSTRACT. This study aims to register part of the collection of body culture in the city of Tocantinópolis, Tocantins, located in the North of Brazil, based on the play reported by the older adult participants in the Health and Cognition Project for Seniors at the FUNT (Federal University of Northeast of Tocantins). Thus, we carried out exploratory fieldwork and qualitative analysis. The field information was gathered through semi-structured interviews with 42 (forty-two) participants. The script of the interviews encompassed their favourite places to play, partnerships, toys, and general characteristics. The analysis of the interviews indicated 64 (sixty-four) manifestations, divided into 8 (eight) categories, according to particularities. The reports also revealed some portraits of a childhood suffering from poverty and early employment. Furthermore, the rural environment was the setting of some records, using toys manufactured with natural resources.

Keywords: body culture, everyday life, play, tradition, memory.

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Memórias afetivas de idosos sobre o brincar no extremo Norte do Brasil

RESUMO. O presente estudo tem como objetivo registrar parte do acervo da cultura corporal da cidade de Tocantinópolis – TO, por meio das brincadeiras identificadas junto a idosos participantes do Projeto Saúde e cognição na melhor idade, sediado na Universidade Federal do Norte do Tocantins -UFNT. Para tanto, foi realizado um trabalho de campo, de natureza exploratória e análise qualitativa. A produção de informações em campo se deu mediante a realização de entrevistas semiestruturadas com 42 (quarenta e dois) idosos. Foram contemplados no roteiro das entrevistas os locais preferidos de vivência das brincadeiras, as companhias, os brinquedos utilizados, bem como suas características gerais. A análise das entrevistas permitiu a identificação de 64 (sessenta e quatro) manifestações, organizadas, conforme especificações, em 8 (oito) categorias. Os relatos também revelaram retratos de infâncias sofridas, decorrentes da pobreza e do trabalho precoce. Outrossim, parte dos registros tiveram como cenário o ambiente do campo, bem como a utilização de brinquedos confeccionados com recursos naturais.

Palavras-chave: cultura corporal, cotidiano, brincadeiras, tradição, memória.

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Memorias afectivas de ancianos sobre el juego en el extremo Norte de Brasil

RESUMEN. Este estudio tiene como objetivo registrar parte del acervo de cultura corporal de la ciudad de Tocantinópolis - TO, a través de los juegos identificados con ancianos participantes del Proyecto Salud y Cognición en la mejor edad, con sede en la Universidad Federal del Norte de Tocantins - UFNT . Para ello se realizó un trabajo de campo, de carácter exploratorio y de análisis cualitativo. La producción de información en campo se realizó a través de entrevistas semiestructuradas con 42 (cuarenta y dos) ancianos. Los lugares preferidos para experimentar los juegos, las empresas, los juguetes utilizados, así como sus características generales, fueron contemplados en el guión de entrevista. El análisis de las entrevistas permitió la identificación de 64 (sesenta y cuatro) manifestaciones, organizadas, según sus especificaciones, en 8 (ocho) categorías. Los reportajes también revelaron retratos de infancias sufridas, producto de la pobreza y del trabajo temprano. Además, parte de los registros tuvo como escenario el ambiente de campo, así como el uso de juguetes elaborados con recursos naturales.

Palabras clave: cultura corporal, cotidiano, juegos, tradición, memoria.

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Introduction

It is indispensable to enter the children's world to understand their cultures. When this world is only in the memory of an adult, we must reach back into the past and offer a rendezvous with time, and then the milestone events of their childhood reconnect them with the present. It is worth highlighting that child cultures are manifested in many ways, including play and games.

Play and games are considered body practice, surrounded by social symbols and signs produced throughout human history, expressing aspects of the everyday life of several communities. According to Brougère (2010, p. 109), play "... is a social space since it is not created spontaneously but due to social learning, assuming a significance provided by all those who participate".

Thereby, there is a certain particularity in playing, especially a cultural one, expressing conceptions of the world, interpretations of reality, and regional particularities, which are taught and learned. Such a process considers that cultures are dynamic and constantly process changing. Thus, play and games have taken on several senses throughout history, revealing sociocultural traces of each period, in addition to the specifics of the subjects' places.

The web of meanings involved in play and games also encompasses childhood perspectives, with bonds and rules of behaviour and sharing, known as play culture (Brougère, 2010). In this scope, the play culture is not dissociated from the general culture but emphasizes the child in the process of creation, resizing elements of reality, and generating new meanings.

In this sense, by playing, every child builds their subjectivity by assimilating traces of their culture. Thereby, knowing the traditional games of a community allows us to see the collective imaginary, as well as educational processes forged on their bodies, transmitted as an intangible heritage. It can stand the test of time and keep the memory alive, thus preserving the feeling of belonging to the group.

In this context, the rich symbolic heritage in Tocantinópolis, Tocantins, in the North of Brazil, aroused our interest in learning different elements of the local play culture. It is worth highlighting that the wealthy culture of the city in the north Tocantins, the region of "Bico do Papagaio," and entrance to the legal Amazon is associated, among other elements, with the community's relationship with the Tocantins River. There is a substantial indigenous presence (most of the Apinajé ethnicity), quilombola influence (Cultural heritage of inhabitants of

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Quilombos, communities formed by descendants of Afro-Brazilian slaved people), and the work with babaçu coconut. All these references, and a series of other traces, build a sociocultural identity that intervenes in body practices, thus generating different forms of playing and dancing in many layers.

According to Baitello Júnior (1999), humanity self-perpetuates through culture and individual discoveries related to social groups. Such findings reflect on forms of experiencing the body and range from clothing to spiritual, political, artistic, and ideological issues.

However, the processes of globalization and mediatization (or technologization) may have been embedded in social life. On the other hand, the traditional culture restructures and reorganizes, keeping the knowledge involved in play and games alive. According to Almeida (2001, p. 81), "Traditional knowledge is an explanation to the phenomena and facts of social life based on the articulation of a set of prioritized, coherently systematized relationships." This means that despite being often assigned with pejorative or inferior connotations for not being labelled as scientific, traditional knowledge is organized to preserve the collective memory.

In the research processes, seeking to return to the memories of the play culture in the city, we approached the places attended by the older adults. In this direction, we referred to the Health and Cognition Project for Seniors in the context of the Degree in Physical Education at the Federal University of North Tocantins (FUNT). It is a weekly service rendering in the scope of physical activity, health, and quality of life that has been provided since 2018 to people 60 years and older, thus including older adults from different neighbourhoods and communities in Tocantinópolis. We considered that being in contact with older adults from various places in the city would offer a broader look into the research object and a more consistent mapping of the play places.

In this sense, we established the following research questions: (i) What is the scenario of body culture in the city of Tocantinópolis, Tocantins, based on the play and games reported by the older adults in the Health and Cognition Project for Seniors – FUNT? (ii) What are the characteristics of these plays, games, and sharing experiences?

One of the main scopes of this study is to establish a relationship between the emerging knowledge of the local culture and the academic culture promoted at the university. In this movement of (re) building the childhood experiences that shaped their memories of play, we started from the conceptions that acknowledge the body as our "first and most

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versatile toy" (Alves & Sommerhalder, 2006). In this sense, we understand that by analyzing play and games, we can access gestures of everyday life embedded in the education process that influence how the subjects see their city.

Since Tocantinópolis is our hometown, it is worth mentioning that our motivation for the research is our close relationship with many of the communities on its perimeter. Additionally, we always hear family members' and neighbours' histories about their play places, which increased our interest in learning more about play and their sharing experiences in different periods of Tocantins history.

Concerning the social justification of this research, we understand that composing a collection about body practices is a work of appreciation of a popular heritage that encompasses a legacy of beliefs and knowledge, adding meaning to everyday life and revealing characteristics of the subjects' identities. In addition, it is worth considering that play and games have an essential role in the education of children and adolescents.

For our academic justification, we found only a few studies that focused on discussing the city's play culture from a perspective of physical education. Moreover, we consider the relevance by recognizing play as body practices filled with senses and meanings that add value to the approach of the regional body culture in schools of North Tocantins.

In the scope of the Physical Education field, there is a collection of manifestations named "body culture." According to Soares et al. (1992), these are human and historical productions representing symbolic forms of understanding reality, expressed through the content topics of dances, fights, gymnastics, sports, play, and games. In this sense, movement is an indispensable form of relationship with the world, encompassing a perspective of the bio-psycho-social human being who self-perpetuates through culture by interacting, teaching, and learning.

From a curricular point of view, the Basic National Common Curriculum – BNCC (Base Nacional Comum Curricular) (Brazil, 2017) understands that playing enlarges and diversifies access to cultural production in varying forms, spaces and times. Thus, it maximizes imagination and creativity, widening emotional, body, social, expressive, and cognitive experiences. In this sense, the BNCC expresses that playing is fundamental to human development, especially in its collective meaning, for allowing learning through socialization. Thus, this study focuses on the play and games that have historically built the child universe in Tocantinópolis.

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Methodologies

It is fieldwork based on an exploratory and qualitative approach. Our theoretical and methodological background for data production and analysis is supported by studies of Human and Social Sciences and a sociocultural perspective of physical education, aiming to identify languages, narratives, and other human productions in knowledge development.

This qualitative research aimed to understand the phenomena in a social context (Minayo, 1994). According to Bogdan and Bicklen (1994, p.16), qualitative assumptions of scientific research "... are rich in descriptive details relative to people, places, and talks." Thus, our methodological research structure aimed to better understand the participants' perspectives to characterize the proposed object.

We conducted our fieldwork in the context of the Health and Cognition for Seniors Project, promoted by the Degree in Physical Education at the FUNT – Tocantinópolis. The group meetings occurred on Mondays and Fridays from 6 am to 7 am and 7 am to 8 am. The project was created in 2018 and is still running. The activities were promoted in the dance hall at the university facilities. For enrolment in the project, the individual must be 60 years or older and have no physical limitation that prevents or hampers the execution of the proposed activities.

This research involved 42 (forty-two) older adults regularly enrolled in the project, with 35 (thirty-three) females and 07 (seven) males between 60 and 90 years old. The age group from 60 to 69 years was the most frequent, with 27 (twenty-seven) people. The exclusion criteria referred to participants who did not live in Tocantinópolis as a child.

The information gathering procedures encompassed eight weeks of in-locus research between August and October 2022, divided into two steps. For around two weeks, we started with the exploratory step to map the research field – "Health and Cognition for Seniors Project – FUNT"- and individual particularities. We introduced the participants to the general research aspects and ethical issues. In addition, all the participants signed the Informed Consent Form.

We got closer to participants before their project activities to avoid interfering with their planned routine. As we became more open and familiar with them, we became more focused on the research. According to Lankshear and Knobel (2008), focusing on field

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observation helps understand the particularities of structures, forms of relationships, and organization of the phenomenon, in this case, the participants' memories of play and games.

In turn, the second step involved the interviews based on semi-structured scripts that encompassed the following elements: 1) General information about the participant; 2) Play, toys, and games of their childhood, in addition to favourite communal areas, partnership, and general characteristics of their manifestations, and 3) The participant's experience with the play culture in the city of Tocantinópolis. According to Bogdan and Biklen (1994), verbal data are indispensable for qualitative research. For the authors, interviews and conversations are essential research techniques to identify details that allow us to understand their world in their particular contexts.

We performed the data analysis qualitatively by combining the field information and the subjects' information and impressions from the researcher's perspective, supported by the related literature. For Flick (2009), methodological triangulation is determinant to understanding the proposed phenomenon since crossing different methodological approaches allows for analyzing varying angles, ranges, and depths.

Results and discussion

According to Soares (2005, p. 60), body practices are "actual stages where scenes of life are represented" and can also be considered "pedagogies that intervene on bodies" by expressing the relationships between subjects and their cultures. Thus, we understand that body practices represent complex games between the subject and everyday life since the body experiences sensations and marks of different experiences.

In this discussion, Brougère (2010) understands that playing has a symbolic dimension closely related to aspects of social life, representing everyday life. Thereby, the Tocantins River, its entire riverside, and the rich natural environment of the city as a whole are indispensable elements in the development of play and games associated with interactions between peers in these spaces. These aspects surrounding the city's everyday life throughout history were the target of our attention in the field immersion.

During our early meetings, we were uncomfortable starting the interviews; however, we gradually understood the project dynamics and became more at ease approaching the participants. We felt safer as we introduced them to the research proposal and saw their excitement and openness to talk about their childhood memories. We highlight that the

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support of the project monitors was indispensable for us to become more familiarized since they already knew the participants well. Generally, the interviews happened before or at intervals between the groups outside the room where the activities occurred. Our presence did not disturb or interfere with the scheduled routine.

At each interview, we referred back to our goals to ensure the content was as straightforward to the participants. During this process, we observed that some were more comfortable and others tenser when approaching the topic, especially when mentioning aspects of their personal histories. The reports allowed us to access thousands of play and games expressed in various ways. Some plays were mentioned more frequently than others, indicating a more effective presence in the local culture. More to the point, beyond the collection of play and games, we also had the chance to learn aspects that forged the childhoods in the city, with elements that built their social imaginary.

The first section presents the play and games reported by older adults. The second section discusses the marks left in the older adults' memory while contributing to discussions about the play that help understand the society of Tocantins in other historical periods.

Play: General characteristics and classifications

Based on the interviews, 64 (sixty-four) plays were registered. The characteristics of such manifestations, especially concerning the forms of playing, their origins, and particularities, we organized them into 8 (eight) categories: a) Popular play; b) Handmade toys; c) Playing in nature; d) Symbolic games; e) Singing games; f) Sports-oriented games; g) Running/chasing games, and h) Indoor or board games. The following chart presents the systematization of each playing according to their respective category:

Chart 1 - Play registered in the field divided by category.

Popular play	Handmade toys	Playing in nature	Symbolic play
Berlinda	Badogue/Bowl	Bull-fighting	"Make-believe
Boca de forno	Bottle Doll	Cipó	commerce"
Cordless phone	Buriti violin	Climbing trees	Country games
Dead Alive	Cloth doll	Fishing	Little House
Fall in the well	Corn Cob Doll	Monkey hop	Little School
Five Marys	Corn straw shuttlecock	Passarinhar	Picnic
Hide-and-seek	Jatobá doll	River Trapping	Rough" games
Hopscotch	Mango Doll	Tag in the river	(imitating pawns)
Hot Potato	Ox and jatoba joint		Treasure hunt

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Jump rope Jump rubber band Mimic Mommy, can I go? Mother in the street Pass the ring Statue Stop Tug of war Wheelbarrow	Paper ball launcher Sock ball Tin Wooden Car Wood pawn Wooden horse		War with cashew nuts
Singing games	Sports-oriented games	Running/chasing games	Indoor or board games
Atirei o pau no gato Ciranda cirandinha Lindó Onde está margarida? Quadrilha Samba lê lê	Queimada Soccer Taco Volleyball	Catch Kangaroo Race Running (free)	Grabber Xibio

Source: fieldwork.

Some of the above categories were inspired by the classifications proposed by Simon and Kunz (2014) and Farias, Freitas, and Wiggers (2019). Furthermore, it is relevant to emphasize that the titles of the highlighted games have retained their original expressions in Portuguese because they have very particular regional meanings.

Chart 1 shows that participants reported "popular play" more frequently, with 19 (nineteen) manifestations. According to Santos and Kocian (2006, p.1), "Popular plays are a historical-social phenomenon of irrefutable mass cultural significance, regardless of gender, ideology, ethnicity, religion, race, or socioeconomic conditions."

Popular plays represent the culture of a people in a given historical period, which are transmitted orally and undergo transformations. It is worth highlighting that when referring to cultural aspects of Brazil, we are talking about European, African, and Indigenous influences that impact play and games, bringing historical remarks of the colonization process (Feitosa et al., 2017).

Furthermore, moving forward in analyzing the categories presented, we inferred that older adults would also enjoy handmade games as children, accounting for 14 (fourteen) manifestations. These plays do not require as many artifacts and are more readily available, like plastic bottles, oil cans, mango kernels, seeds of jatobá, and pieces of wood. Among other materials, they can be transformed and incorporated into the symbolic universe, becoming toys.

According to Friedmann (2006, p. 22), "playing happens very spontaneously... Space and time define the characteristic of each play." In this direction, Queiroz and Pinho (2020)

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consider that compared with the South and Southwest regions, the Amazon has a strong context of creativity manifestation supported by natural and cultural resources.

In the wake of this reflection, the category playing in nature represents 8 (eight) plays in the reports. According to Coelho et al. (2015, p. 113), "Playing in nature is not only openair playing." In addition, according to Bruhns (2010), men are naturally both producers and products of the environment. Thereby, playing in natural environments improves related aspects, especially social nature, addressing issues related to imagination and language.

Imagination and language are indispensable elements in symbolic play, also with 8 (eight) plays based on the fieldwork records. According to Bomtime (2001, p. 70), "In dreams, fantasy, make-believe games, desires that seemed unattainable come true." In this sense, Oliveira (2005, p. 161) describes that "the base of all creative actions relies on experimental unsuitability of the individual with the environment, who creates needs and desires, demanding new answers. Creative action, in turn, needs imagination". The fantasy scenario created from symbolic play holds representations of characters and situations, as well as an imitation game in which children reproduce, in particular ways, aspects of everyday life.

About the singing games, 6 (six) plays were mentioned in the interviews. Some manifestations were part of the national culture, like "Atirei o pau no gato" and "Ciranda Cirandinha," and others that were more peculiar to the region, like "Lindó." For Bréscia (2003), music is a universal language that participates fundamentally in the history of humanity, in different periods and civilizations, being part of several rituals from birth to death.

According to Barros (2010), singing games or nursery rhymes allow children to learn several traditional habits, beliefs, and knowledge. These practices can be regarded as collections of oral traditions that help teach and learn about cultures.

Soccer stood out, majorly preferred by males, in the sports-oriented games, with four games mentioned by the subjects. It caught our attention that their reports were not about the conventional soccer game, with crossbars and official balls, but mostly with paper balls, sock balls, or other resources. The gestures in this type of game link with sports practice since those who play it express the techniques of the original games through their bodies (Farias et al., 2019).

Three plays were mentioned in the running/chasing games, predominantly "tag." These games are focused on running and are often associated with the dispute, flight, or

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search, culminating in touching and/or capturing the participants (Farias et al., 2019). According to Corsaro (1992), chasing games constitute the "approach-avoidance" typology in which children choose a "threatening agent," in this case, the "catcher," which they try to avoid or escape. In this context, the author emphasizes that children create an imaginary script from these games and share emotions such as tension, excitement, relief, and joy.

Finally, two indoor or board games were addressed in the reports: "arrow stick" and "xibio." According to Pedro Neto and Silva (2006, P. 11), "Board games have a millenary role in human cultures. Beyond their mystical and religious functions, the play aspect has always been present." In this sense, they are not only mere moving of pieces or objects on a board but a set of previously agreed representations and rules that preserve the traditions of several cultures.

The old adults' memories of play in Tocantinópolis

The simplicity of child play culture is supported by a knowledge that has been historically produced by humanity, with traces of collective memory transmitted from generation to generation (Amado, 2007). According to Halbwachs (1990), collective memory helps one understand the feeling of belonging to the group. Therefore, we selected parts of the interviews that address several perspectives of playing that built the subjects' collective memory to understand further the manifestations characterized.

The conditions of poverty, the feeling of not having had a childhood, and the absence of play and games were expressed in the following three reports:

In my childhood, I never even played. I was a sufferer in my childhood, and after I got older, I got better. I spent my whole childhood breaking coconut palms, and it was after I retired that I came to feel more like myself... I was suffering. We went hungry, walked barefoot, only had one dress, washed, and put it back on. It wasn't easy (A. S., 62 years old).

I practically didn't play in childhood; it was very little. When I did play, I ran away from my parents. Sometimes we played ball, played monkey jump and with dolls my mother made. These were the only games I played; I practically didn't play. We lived on the farm and had to work, and my father did not want me to study... I practically had no childhood (M. R, 61 years old).

In my childhood, after 7 years old, I didn't play anymore. I always lived on the farm and after 7 years old we already learned to break the coconut and already had to go to work. At the end of the week, we would play, make cloth dolls, and have a picnic under the tree. Once we christened the dolls, it was such a beautiful party that even the parents got together to

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make this christening. There was one that dressed up as a priest. It was very good. And the other play at the weekend when we didn't go to work... It was the playing of that team, but we worked very hard, then things were evolved... Now I've been playing much more at this age. I go to the quadrilha... I became a child again, only the play has changed, and I love it. Here [at the project] is so good, so pleasant, I came here, and it is so pleasant. And that's it, we are playing here again (M. L. B. A., 66 years old).

In addition, the following two records address confusion between the concepts of playing and working:

My father used to put us to work. That's how we played. We have always had a little piece of land. We would play with fruit from the bush, named jatobá. It is a long fruit... I would take it, pierce it, put a cord, and pull it, saying that it was a joint of an ox. That's how we used to play... I almost didn't play because my father wouldn't let me, and the farm wouldn't let me (M.C. A, 68 years old).

Generally, we played working with the ox, as we already worked during the day. The ox in the playing was us; there was a cowboy mounted on a wooden horse that ran up and down. Once, we tore a box of firecrackers, made a face, and put it on the ox. And at the door of the house, there was a stump of a coconut palm, and we hid behind the stump, and one day the ox came and dropped his face on the stump of a coconut palm, he even grated his face (A.C.S., 68 years old).

From a different perspective, we present two other speakers who highlighted the activities of playing in nature and rural matters:

...we used to play a lot in the creek, of hiding, we used to play a lot of games like that, you know. I also used to go birding, when I went to the farm, I knew how to bird-walk, badoque, and make a trap to catch the birds. I went with my brother, we spent the whole day in the woods, and my mother thought we were lost in the woods, because we didn't even go to eat, we ate there, we only came back when we caught a bird. I had a wonderful childhood in the countryside (R. A. F., 65 years old).

Play in that time were climbing the woods, chop, and bring the guys down from above. Era playing of badogue, build a trap, bathe in the river. The badogue is a plowed stick that you bend and pass a cord through it and make a house and put a stone. The balladeira (ballerina) already came here with a team like this. Also play hide-and-seek, in those days we used to play very much of hiding in the bush (F. P., 74 years old).

Furthermore, the following two excerpts introduce the manufacturing of toys as an aspect constantly addressed in the interviews.

...we made some ugly dolls, dolls of mango, we took the hair from the cob of corn, took the mango, made the arms and legs with a toothpick, and drew the faces. The corncob was also taken and made into a doll because it had big hair. I also made dolls out of cloth (J. M. N., 64 years old).

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There was no doll, we dressed those glasses and said it was a doll. We lived on the farm, it was the doll that we had, not the ones we buy in the market, we put our name on it, we made a little house, and we made food, but there was no food, we put soil and then said we were eating. These were the play. We played ball, but we didn't even have a ball, we took a cloth, put sand, and tied it and we played ball games (P. F., 62 years old).

The reports of the participants allowed us to explore cultural aspects of Tocantinópolis, in which the children experienced the natural environment as play scenarios; in contrast, at the same time, they helped with household demands and work. Many of these matters have changed since their childhood, and understanding such changes in the city's social history allows us to incorporate important elements for the current generation's education.

Final remarks

This study aimed to register part of the body culture collection in the city of Tocantinópolis, Tocantins, based on the play and games reported by the participants in the context of the Health and Cognition Project for Seniors – FUNT.

Taking play as a starting point, we enter a universe full of social meanings that reveal how the older adults saw their everyday lives, encompassing scenarios of the past that were part of their daily routine. Such an everyday life was represented through the subjects' bodies in a complex setting where the adults faced their childhood memories, with their "social scars" exposed through memories of what their bodies experienced.

Our field records showed 64 (sixty-four) play and games divided into 8 (eight) categories according to their characteristics, which allowed us to map the play collection of the subjects and the city. The plays were very diverse, and the several popular games and handmade toys caught our attention the most.

Additionally, when talking with the old adults, we accessed information about their lives that exceeded the play dimension proposed in this research. We heard many reports about their childhoods of suffering because of poverty and early employment, which caused, in certain situations, the subjects to feel that they did not experience childhood.

In many situations, we saw that the participants felt sadness and even shame about the lack of toys bought in stores, as well as primary resources like food and clothing. We also identified some difficulty in remembering play and games, which revealed that these few individuals could not perceive the importance of those moments in their trajectories.

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In contrast, most participants were enthusiastic about remembering past events and were moved to describe the facts of their lives, including those shared with deceased relatives. It is worth highlighting that many of their speeches had natural play scenarios in the city as background, as well as peculiarities of the farm environment. The analysis of the material revealed that the play experiences in the community emerged as sociocultural collections that influenced the subjects' bodies, building their identities and expressing both joyful and sad marks in their lives.

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