

CADERNOS EBAPE.BR

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ISSN: 1679-3951

Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Escola Brasileira de
Administração Pública e de Empresas

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Interfaces entre territorialidade e identidade: analisando as vivências das mães do Grupo Maternati
Cadernos EBAPE.BR, vol. 16, núm. 4, 2018, Outubro-Dezembro, pp. 788-801
Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Escola Brasileira de Administração Pública e de Empresas

DOI: 10.1590/1679-395167131

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Interfaces between territoriality and identity: analyzing the experiences of mothers of the Maternati Group

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Abstract

The objective of this article is to analyze the interfaces between territoriality and identity based on the experiences of mothers belonging to the Maternati-Support Group for Pregnant Women and Mothers of Maringa/PR. We seek to understand how identities are shaped by belonging to a territory. To this end, we focus mainly on the symbolic dimension of territory, centering on the concepts of territoriality and identity. To reach the proposed goal, we adopted as a methodological strategy a single case study. Under a qualitative approach, a non-participant observation of the activities of the group was conducted for twelve months, and semi-structured interviews were carried out with mothers and coordinators, and this data was analyzed through the critical analysis of the discourse. As a result, the empirical data demonstrated mutual influence between territoriality and identity. Through the territorialization of the Maternati, there is also a conjugation between reproduced identities and new constructed identities that have been incorporated into the daily motherhood practices of the social group. At the same time, the generation of these new identities had an impact on the territoriality of space. The frequent contact among women propitiated the reproduction of practices advancing beyond the territory of the Maternati, expanding into other physical spaces, territorializing new spaces and extending to areas other than motherhood.

Keywords: Territory. Territoriality. Identity. Motherhood.

Interfaces entre territorialidade e identidade: analisando as vivências das mães do Grupo Maternati

Resumo

O objetivo neste artigo é analisar as interfaces entre territorialidade e identidade por meio das vivências de mães pertencentes ao Maternati – Grupo de Apoio a Gestantes e Mães de Maringá/PR. Buscamos compreender como as identidades são moldadas pelo pertencimento a um território. Para tal, pautamo-nos principalmente pela dimensão simbólica de território, com enfoque sobre os conceitos de territorialidade e identidade. Para alcance do objetivo proposto, adotamos como estratégia metodológica o estudo de caso único. Com enfoque qualitativo, realizamos observação não participante por doze meses nas atividades do grupo, bem como entrevistas semiestruturadas com mães e coordenadoras que o integram, sendo tais dados trabalhados pela análise crítica do discurso. Como resultado, os dados empíricos demonstraram a influência mútua entre territorialidade e identidade. Por meio da territorialização do Maternati, há também uma conjugação entre identidades reproduzidas e novas identidades construídas que foram sendo incorporadas às práticas de maternidade cotidianas do grupo social. Ao mesmo tempo, a geração dessas novas identidades impactou na territorialidade do espaço. O convívio frequente entre as mulheres propiciou a reprodução das práticas e seu avanço para além do território do Maternati, expandindo-se para outros espaços físicos, territorializando novos espaços e se estendendo para além da área da maternidade.

Palavras-chave: Território. Territorialidade. Identidade. Maternidade.

Interfaces entre territorialidad e identidad: analizando las vivencias de las madres del Grupo Maternati

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar las interfaces entre territorialidad e identidad a partir de las vivencias de madres pertenecientes al Maternati –Grupo de Apoyo a las Gestantes y Madres de Maringá, estado de Paraná. Buscamos entender cómo las identidades se conforman a partir de la pertenencia a un territorio. Para ello, nos basamos principalmente en la dimensión simbólica del territorio, centrándonos en los conceptos de territorialidad e identidad. Para alcanzar el objetivo propuesto, adoptamos como estrategia metodológica el estudio de caso único. Bajo un enfoque cualitativo, durante doce meses, realizamos observación no participante de las actividades del grupo, así como entrevistas semiestruturadas con las madres y coordinadoras que lo integran. Tras la obtención de los datos aplicamos el análisis crítico del discurso. Como resultado, los datos empíricos han demostrado la influencia mutua entre territorialidad e identidad. A través de la territorialización de Maternati, también hay una combinación entre las identidades reproducidas y nuevas identidades construidas que se han incorporado en las prácticas cotidianas de maternidad del grupo social. Al mismo tiempo, la generación de estas nuevas identidades tuvo impacto en la territorialidad del espacio. La interacción frecuente entre las mujeres propició la reproducción de las prácticas y su avance más allá del territorio de Maternati, ampliándose a otros espacios físicos, territorializando nuevos espacios, extendiéndose a áreas distintas de la maternidad.

Palabras clave: Territorio. Territorialidad. Identidad. Maternidad.

Article submitted on March 20, 2017 and accepted for publication on April 17, 2018.

[Translated version] Note: All quotes in English translated by this article's translator.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/1679-395167131>

INTRODUCTION

The term “territory” has been widely used in social sciences. In the second half of the nineteenth century, its use was linked to the political nature, highlighting the role played by the State in controlling the territory, which represented the power and solidity of each nation-state (ANDRADE, 1998; SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009). However, in the last decades, “territory” has gained a broader sense, comprising several questions concerning the physical and symbolic control of a given area. From the 1980s, the concept of territory has also been adopted to understand urban social movements (IMAS and WESTOM, 2012; VALVERDE, 2004), and recently the field of Organizational Studies has also been appropriate for the concept (SARAIVA, CARRIERI and SOARES, 2014).

The territory, in this way, is conceived on the basis of several dimensions, encompassing economic, political, cultural and natural aspects (E-P-C-N), which are intimately connected (HAESBAERT, 2004, 2007; SAQUET, 2005, 2009). According to Haesbaert (2007), the territory includes both identification and appropriation. By inhabiting a space and becoming aware of its participation, people transform it into a territory (ANDRADE, 1998; CARA, 1998). Its occupation corresponds to significant experiences, whose meaning is present in the interconnected actions that make up and integrate its process of constitution and formation of the social movement (MEDEIROS, 2009).

In this sense, the issue of identity gains value with the concept of territoriality (CARA, 1998), understood as “[...] the product of reciprocal interactions, of relations within the scope of E-P-C-N” (SAQUET, 2005, p. 13890). The territory corresponds to a space of identification (MEDEIROS, 2009) and the identities are product of the formation of each territory, contextualized in the social relations with the external environment to the society. Therefore, understanding them requires their apprehension in a context of historical formation and as a component of the territory (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009), which does not imply, on the other hand, neglecting the other fundamental elements that constitute the patrimony of each territory.

In view of this, in this article we sought to explore the relationship between territoriality and identity in the context of motherhood. Maternity in Brazil has undergone several changes, both in relation to the obstetric system (type of delivery, local), practices and the way of raising children, mainly observed two different types. The predominant model, technocratic model, is marked by intense technification imposed on birth and motherhood. It is characterized by the predominance of cesarean section (AGÊNCIA NACIONAL DE SAÚDE SUPLEMENTAR, 2016), uncritical use of technologies, incorporation of a large number of interventions, predominantly the physician figure (RATTNER, 2009), use of pacifiers, bottles, formulas, among others.

Due to the disapproval of this model, and in view of the high rate of cesarean sections and interventions, contrary to the recommendations of the World Health Organization (WHO), from the 1980s and more strongly in the 2000s, there is a movement for the humanization of delivery and childbirth, mainly organized by groups organized by women (JONES, [2007]; MINISTÉRIO DA SAÚDE, 2001). This movement, based on WHO guidelines (1996), calls for changes in the conduct and procedures adopted in the health services, defending a humanistic model, with greater protagonism and respect for women’s decisions, and treating active childbirth as a physiological event. This model encourages higher incidence of normal delivery, non-medicalization of labor, reduction of unnecessary interventions (GRIBOSKI and GUILHEM, 2006; RATTNER, 2009), as well as more natural practices in maternity, such as breastfeed. This model also emphasizes the return of home birth, in which obstetrical nurses act as the midwives of old (RATTNER, 2009)

Because of the striking discrepancies between the two models, several women report the difficulty of obtaining childbirth and motherhood they desire because they differ from the predominant model in the country. Thus, to try to circumvent or alleviate these difficulties, it is common the participation in support groups that encourage the humanized model and the empowerment of women.

In this context, this article aimed to analyze the interfaces between territoriality and identity through the experiences of mothers belonging to Maternati, a support group for pregnant women and mothers, thus considering the organization as territory. Under this approach, organizations enable groups to construct cultural meanings and assign identities as a form of symbolic control over the space where they operate (PEREIRA and CARRIERI, 2005). In this way, we sought to advance and contribute to the body of research in territoriality and identity with the following questions: how is organizational identity shaped by territoriality? How does territoriality expand beyond borders? And how do the practices of a group advance beyond a defined space through its identification? It is important to highlight that the practices are discussed here because they refer to socially significant activity patterns, whose coherence is established by being linked to shared meanings and

understandings (SMETS, MORRIS and GREENWOOD, 2012), that is, identification of subjects. They are, therefore, relevant for the construction of territoriality and identity.

In order to answer these questions and meet the proposed goal, we conducted a case study at the Maternati - Support Group for Pregnant Women and Mothers of Maringá, State of Paraná, which proposes a natural maternity (especially natural childbirth) and encourages and supports women and couples who opt for this type of maternity in its various stages. This study illustrates the relationships between territoriality and identity in the organizational context, interpreting the identities of women and mothers as they begin to participate and inhabit a new territory.

Territory and Territoriality

The concept of territory is one of the main adopted to understand the relationship between society and its space (HAESBAERT, 2004). In Brazil, studies and research have been reinforced in several areas focused on its concept (GOULART, VIEIRA, COSTA et al, 2010; HAESBAERT, 2007; SAQUET, 2009). However, in everyday language the terms territory and space are often confused (SANTOS and SILVEIRA, 2006). The differentiation between the terms is very tenuous, but necessary in order not to make difficult the readings and conceptualizations (SAQUET, 2009). And although they are distinct, space and territory cannot be dissociated, one is in the other.

The space precedes the territory and it is formed through that. The territory results from an action conducted by an actor who, when appropriating a space, territorializes it. Thus, territory and space are different, the territory is based on space, but it is configured as a production through it. Consequently, the territorialization of space takes place through processes of appropriation, either concrete or symbolic (RAFFESTIN, 1993). Therefore, space is historically transformed by societies through its territorialization (SAQUET, 2009).

Given that the territory is linked to domination and appropriation, this concept reveals relations marked by power (ANDRADE, 1998; RAFFESTIN, 1993). Such relations are indispensable for the concretion of a territory, they are the ones that crystallize it (SAQUET, 2013). "Territoriality consists of an appropriative action of a given space by an individual or a group of individuals who develop, in relation to an object or symbol, a relation of possession" (COIMBRA and SARAIVA, 2013, p. 35). Thus, the territory configures itself as the spatial expression of such relations (SOUZA, 2009).

Nevertheless, this does not mean that other dimensions are not present in territoriality. In addition to the political dimension, economic and cultural relations are also closely linked to the concept of territory (HAESBAERT, 2007; SAQUET, 2005; SOUZA, 2009). Haesbaert (2004) groups the various notions of territory in three dimensions: a) politics - space-power relations, in which territory is seen as a delimited space controlled by a certain power; b) cultural or symbolic-cultural - more symbolic and subjective aspects, in which territory is the product of symbolic appropriation of a group; and c) economic - economic relations, in which the territory is source of resources, involved in capital-labor relation.

Saquet (2005, 2009) adds the natural dimension to these three dimensions. The author proposes a historical, relational, multidimensional, material and immaterial approach, in which there is a combination of aspects of economics, politics, culture and nature, the E-P-C-N approach. These dimensions and their underlying interactions are responsible for the movements that make up the territories. Territory and territorialities are the fruit and condition of articulations involving different periods and places, economic, political, cultural and natural aspects, changes/discontinuities and permanencies/continuities, unity and diversity, referring to the time-space-territory relationship (SAQUET, 2005).

Although we recognize the various approaches that touch on the concept of territory and territoriality, in this article we decided to focus on its cultural-symbolic dimension. The appropriation of a space through territorialization is exercised by forms of power that lead to the establishment of symbolic bonds, which, in turn, impart a sense of belonging to that territory (MISOCZKY, CAMARA, CERQUEIRA et al., 2012), evidencing inherent symbolic aspects to the whole constitution process. The appropriation of the territory is made socially by groups that produce and resignify a space, corresponding to a geographical and identity occupation. Thus, no process of territorialization is neutral. By territorializing a space, the social group "leaves symbolic marks" in the members of the group (SARAIVA, CARRIERI and SOARES, 2014). However, sometimes its scope has been ignored in Organizational Studies, with space being reduced, in its predominance, only to economic dimensions (ALCADIPANI and ALMEIDA, 2000; MAC-ALLISTER, 2003; PEREIRA and CARRIERI, 2005), which emphasizes the importance of the focus on the cultural-symbolic dimension.

In this way, territory is both functional and symbolic since there is an inseparability between the performance of its functions and the production of its meanings. The effective construction of the territory is inserted in a symbolic sense and is defined in reference to cultural relations (HAESBAERT, 2004, 2007). Culture, manifested in beliefs and attitudes, interferes with the group, which, in turn, reflects and conditions the spatial organization and the dynamics of the territory (MEDEIROS, 2009). Thus, according to Haesbaert (2007), the territory as symbolic dominance involves territories of difference, of distinction between communities; territories as symbol and with symbolic value; with the principle of multiplicity, which endows it with multiple identities; territoriality “without territory”, that is, without the need of a fixed land. The materialization of territoriality is not essential for territorialization to take place. Although all territory is endowed with a territoriality, not all territoriality demands a territory in its material sense (HAESBAERT, 2009). Thus, it is possible to conceive the territory beyond a physical and geographical aspect, transcending a spatial frontier.

The conquest of a territory can be seen from different scopes, given that it is no longer confined to the acquisition of a piece of land or food, but also involves the conquest of a new identity, new relations or the continuity of struggles. The territory needs to reconcile the identification of subjects and actions in the same space (MEDEIROS, 2009). In this way, more current studies already recognize that the territories are marked more by a continuous movement, a dynamics built socially, than by their fixation in a specific land, a static natural representation (TEIXEIRA, SARAIVA and CARRIERI, 2015; VALVERDE, 2004).

Therefore, although the ways in which the territories may be delimited are broad, all will always have intrinsic cultural and social aspects as their background (COIMBRA and SARAIVA, 2013). Territorialization constitutes and is fostered by multidimensional territorialities, which are plural and are in unity. Plural by virtue of inequalities and differences, and unitary by means of identities (SAQUET, 2009). The symbolic dimension, therefore, encompasses spatial elements, representations and symbols, which constitute a territorial identity (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009). This is “[...] the product of the formation of each territory in a context of social relations with the external environment to life in society” (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009, p.14), being a central element of the territory (SAQUET, 2005) - which will be discussed in the next section.

Territoriality and Identity

Like the concept of territory, the concept of identity has attracted researchers from various fields. It refers to a critical construct to understand the evolution of interpretations, emotions and actions over time, which restricts what an individual or member interprets as legitimate and affects the pattern of actions related to specific issues (DUTTON and DUKERICH, 1991). Identity can also be understood by social interaction. Viegas (2014) defends the idea of an identity in constant movement, as a collective and autonomous dynamic of becoming. In the view of the author, identity allows the subsistence, overlap or even release of individuals in the face of domination, through the belonging to a collectivity that preserves its existence and contributes to overcome the social roles

In the organizational context, Carrieri, Paula and Davel (2008) reinforce this aspect of the collective, present in Viegas (2014), proposing the existence of collective identities in organizations, due to the multiplicity of social groups that exist therein. Collective identity is thus constructed through the interaction of group members. And once built, identity shapes the interpretation of members, serves as a point of reference, and affects the actions taken by individuals (DUTTON and DUKERICH, 1991). That is, it refers to the general and the individual, so that the collective identity also affects the individual.

The discussion about its term acquired value in Geography with the concept of territoriality as a relational aspect between space and society (CARA, 1998). Similarly, in Social Sciences, its concept has often been approached as a powerful instrument in the dispute between territories (MATOS, 2005). According to Medeiros (2009), the territory is a space of identity or identification. Initially, it is a cultural space of identification and belonging and only in a second moment does its appropriation take place.

Saquet and Briskievicz (2009) pointed out that, for Haesbaert, it is not space itself that forms an identity, but the cultural and political forces of the social groups that act in it and reproduce its capacity to produce an identity, which is territorially mediated. Thus identities, in the authors’ view, are the product of the formation of each territory, of the historical and relational processes involved, and constitute a territorial patrimony that actors must preserve and value directly in their historical constitution and by other people who can live this patrimony.

The concept of identity, in this way, interrelates with that of territory, because it presupposes an identity affirmation (MEDEIROS, 2009), its space has always incorporated, in some way, an identity dimension (HAESBAERT, 2009). The territory

"[...] is a multidimensional objectification of the social appropriation of space. The territoriality, the subjective quality of the social group or of the individual that allows it, based on images, representations and projects, to become aware of its space of life" (CARA, 1998, p.262). Thus, as spaces and their unfoldings are permeated by identity, they become territories and a reality that is constructed (SARAIVA, CARRIERI and SOARES, 2014).

Therefore, gradually, the territory is producing its own symbols, its own significations and identities. These meanings are multiplying in a set of actions that demonstrate these identifications (MEDEIROS, 2009). Territory, then, involves this patrimony of identity that can be enhanced in development projects and programs aimed at preserving and enhancing it. It includes know-how, buildings, monuments, museums, dialects, beliefs, historical archives, social relations of families, enterprises, political organizations (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009).

When a territory is inhabited, an unconscious relationship of exchange and trust is established. And this territory becomes important in the construction and affirmation of the personal and territorial identity of each individual (MATOS, 2005). The sense of belonging defines territoriality as well as territories of identity. Territories reveal individuals as belonging to a group (SARAIVA, CARRIERI and SOARES, 2014). Consequently, symbols and images that materialize identity only have the value of an endogenous perspective, which makes it possible to understand the concept of identity in a territorial sense (CARA, 1998).

In this way, knowing the territory involves knowing it in part and in the whole, knowing oneself and the other (Silva, 1998). Differences exist only because they refer to shared experiences on the same territory, and these, in turn, give meaning to differences by means of common references. Shared identity, therefore, influences how the individual sees and relates in a space (SARAIVA, CARRIERI and SOARES, 2014).

Therefore, territory, territoriality and identity are in complementarity, they happen simultaneously in a mutual conditioning between territory, identity and development. That is, depending on the development project, there may be preservation or not of the identitarian and symbolic traits of each territory, as well as a conjugation between permanencies and changes, in which identities can be reproduced and new identities incorporated into the daily habits and behaviors of a social group (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009).

Therefore, the appropriation and construction of the territory generate identities, which, concomitantly, generate the territories (SAQUET, 2009). A territory, in turn, "[...] can be part of an organization, which addresses to organizational studies the elements to integrate the discussion" (SARAIVA, CARRIERI and SOARES, 2014, p. 104). In this conception, territoriality is the result of the production process of each territory and is fundamental for the construction of the identity of the reorganization of daily life. Identity is built through multiple relationships with the territorialities that individuals establish daily and necessarily involves the production of material and immaterial works (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009).

It is therefore important to deepen this relationship in the field of Organizational Studies, since it allows a continuous and dynamic flow between two extremities, social actors and territory, as well as considers identities as a social phenomenon. By appropriating space and transforming it into territory, feelings of belonging are awakened, crystallizing collective and individual identities (SARAIVA, CARRIERI and SOARES, 2014; TEIXEIRA, SARAIVA and CARRIERI, 2015), a phenomenon that we propose to research empirically and that will be described in sequence.

Methodological course

In view of the objectives and the premises delimited in this research, we opted for a qualitative study. For Denzin and Lincoln (2005), this implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities as well as on processes and meanings that cannot be measured in quantitative terms - which is in line with the symbolic dimension of the territory adopted as the theoretical basis. Considering the importance of a historical deepening for the thematic, we adopted as temporal approach the cross-sectional time frame with a longitudinal perspective (VIEIRA, 2004) in data collected in 2015. Our analysis seeks, therefore, to describe the two processes, territorialization and formation of identities, drawing a long course of time.

The methodological strategy adopted was the case study, and the unit of analysis was the Maternati - Support Group for Pregnant Women and Mothers. This group aims to provide follow-up to pregnant women, mothers, fathers and families, offering a space for coexistence and awareness that enables an active and transforming process, encouraging the naturalness of the various aspects of motherhood. The methodological strategy proved adequate, since, according to Yin (2001), it allows to deal with the contextual conditions in which a contemporary phenomenon is inserted.

Additionally, data collection was based on three sources, in order to allow greater proximity to the territorialization and identification of the mothers and, thus, allow to draw a convergent line of research between the several data collected (YIN, 2001). The first, documentary research, covered articles, books, dissertation, blog articles and group website that portrayed experiences and reports of members of Maternati or practices and beliefs valued by them. We therefore sought to deepen the analysis both for a larger scope of participants who are part of the study group, based on different periods of time, and to reflect that, despite being related to a specific case, Maternati, findings are part of a broader national movement for the humanization of delivery and childbirth.

In sequence, we started field research. In this study, the first author of the article carried out, through insertion in the group, non-participant observation throughout the period of data collection. This involvement consisted of face-to-face monitoring of seven types of the Maternati activity, including courses, meetings of mothers, talk circles, seminars and social gatherings. We also virtual followed the interaction of the participants through social networks (Facebook and WhatsApp). Following each observation, the respective notes were recorded in a field diary, resulting in 1313 pages transcribed.

The follow-up of the activities and interactions in the group consisted of a very rich stage because it allows a greater deepening in the experiences of the various actors and, therefore, in the identification of the analysis processes. The insertion in the daily life of the actors allowed to reach a better understanding of these complex relationships and meaning of the world, and with that, to give base for the conduction of the next instrument for data collection.

Thus, interviews were conducted after five months of observation in order to consolidate aspects already identified. Its semi-structured nature provided an occasion for the professionals and mothers participating in Maternati to express themselves in detail, expressing the social and personal context of their beliefs, values and practices (SELLTIZ, JAHODA, DEUTSCH et al., 1975). The respective scripts had ten questions that addressed issues related to the practices and meanings of motherhood, the choice to form/participate and continue in the group, as well as the built links. Seven interviews were carried out, three with psychologists responsible for the Group, all doulas (professionals who provide the pregnant woman with information and physical and emotional support before, during and after childbirth) and four with participating mothers.

The choice of the first group, doulas, was due to the fact that, in addition to being women who already have or plan to have their maternities based on the same values, they also lead the group in conducting activities and are strongly related to construction of the territory and the identity of the mothers of the Maternati. The selection of the mothers interviewed intended to cover different periods of participation, experiences of childbirth and involvement in the group. This choice was limited by the saturation of the answers, since new interviews would not bring any other significant variety that could be added to the research (BAUER and AARTS, 2013). Participation was voluntary and adherence was total among participants. It is also emphasized that at this stage, it was decided not to include the fathers/husbands, since, apart from the view of these having been contemplated in the observations, as some activities of the group were of exclusive participation of the women, the focus was concentrated on them.

Thus, with the use of varied procedures to obtain the data, the triangulation strategy was used, in which data were crossed in order to establish a chain of evidence (DENZIN and LINCOLN, 2005; YIN, 2001). The organization and systematization of the data was performed using the NVivo 10 Software. These were then analyzed through the Critical Discourse Analysis. According to Fairclough (2001), discourse contributes to the constitution of several dimensions of the social structure, both as a practice of representation and as meaning of the world. It contributes to the reproduction of society, its relations and social identities, systems of knowledge and beliefs, and also to its transformation. It is therefore appropriate to the present study.

Therefore, the collected testimonies were analyzed considering three interrelated guidelines proposed by Fairclough (2001): texts, discursive practice and social practice - as illustrated and exemplified in Box 1. The first dimension reflects the choice of the actors regarding the use of words and the meanings expressed through them. It covers the relations established between the elements of the text, between the explicit and the implicit evidenced in the subjects' choices on how to manifest. Discursive practice, in turn, involves cognitive processes of textual production and interpretation, based on internalized social structures and conventions, that is, how people produce and understand texts based on shared common-sense procedures. Thus, it demands reference to the economic, political and institutional environments, in which the discourse is generated and accentuates historicity, consisting of responses to other texts.

Box 1

Guidelines for Data Analysis

Dimension	Description	Example: discursive fragment
Textual practices	Choose about usage and meaning present in the adopted words.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “[...]when I got there, I realized that I was home. The group had the same thought as me” (Childbirth Report – Mother 1) - Choice of the word “home” evidences the explicit: cozy place, to feel comfortable, warm; at the same time the implicit: “the outward/out of there, the home”, as its opposite, an uncomfortable place. • Excerpts that show identification with adopted terms that characterize and distinguish the group: <i>índia</i> (indigenous woman), cubs, empower, humanized, natural.
Discursive Practices	Production and understanding texts based on interiorized social structures and conventions, references to other environments and voices/ texts.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “We watched the documentary ‘<i>O Renascimento do Parto</i>’ [The rebirth of childbirth] (how do I want a C-section after this?), which was essential in my decision” (Childbirth Report Mother 6) - Permeability of speeches, the mother’s speech is produced relying on other discourse already existing (the documentary), in order to strengthen the choice and legitimize it before the others who receive the speech.
Social Practices	Relationship with other non-discursive elements, action, interaction, power struggles, production capacity, reproduction or even transformation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I hope to be part of a movement that is small, but that changes the thinking of the people and that we can encourage others” (Course of Pregnant Women – Pregnant 1) - Relationship of the discourse with the action and with the defined relations of power. Participation in the group and adoption of natural motherhood is not only linked to itself, as an individual decision, but also as a desire to change the operative relationships between doctor and mother, delegating the power of decision to the woman.

Source: Elaborated by the authors based on Fairclough (2001) and the data collected.

Finally, social practices articulate discourse along with other non-discursive elements, such as action and interaction, social relations, people with their beliefs, attitudes and histories, identifying the relationships and effects of one on the other. They also involve discourse regarding power relations, ideologies and hegemonic struggles, that is, how it contributes both to production and reproduction, and to the transformation of the relations of domination (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001).

Maternati: Territory and Identity of a Natural Motherhood

Founded in 2013, Maternati emerged amidst the context of the humanizing movement of delivery and childbirth. The goal was to open a space that would take a Psychology look at the mothers and pregnant women, which could accompany and welcome them in this moment of transformation of women. At the time of the research, its team was made up of three psychologists.

The group offers several activities - open to the public and closed in private groups - aimed at pregnant women and partners, mothers, and children. In the activities carried out, some specific topics were commonly discussed and already showed the positioning of the group. The main ones were gestation, types of delivery and the current obstetric context in Brazil, which show, on the one hand, the common desire for natural childbirth, free of interventions and, on the other, the difficulty in achieving it.

Another common theme was the practice of a more natural motherhood: exclusive and prolonged breastfeeding on demand; healthier food, absent from industrialized and sweet products; use of cloth diapers and amber necklace; attachment parenting; use of slings; bed-sharing; games free of electronic gadgets, with pedagogic and Montessorian toys, among others.

In view of the desire for these practices, which differ from those prevailing in the country, shared experiences illustrate that the group saw itself as part of a counterculture, always facing struggles to achieve naturalness in gestation, birth and child

raising. According to discursive practice, the group also referred to other voices and contexts, noting that external individuals called them “crazy”, among other reasons, because they wanted “in the XXI century to feel pain” (Field Diary). They also referred to social practice by highlighting the relations of hegemony between dominant and repressed practices. Thus, the understanding of this context of historical formation has become essential as a component of the territory to understand the territorialization (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009) of Maternati. The political dimension, present in this scenario of struggles (SAQUET, 2005), was fundamental for the beginning of the territorialization of this organization.

Due to the difficulties reported and witnessed by the doulas, the formation of the group meant to be a welcoming space - as can be seen in the following speech and group information (site, social networks). The purpose was to provide a place where members could expose their will without criticism and rejection, discuss common desires, based on identified values, and receive the support they often lacked in other settings. The discursive fragment below illustrates this by highlighting, according to the dimension of discursive practices, the relation with other voices:

So, a common space, where they can be accepted by themselves, by the people, where they do not have this imposed criticism, in a rejection [...] this is very necessary, because it is a very helpless moment of society (Professional interview 2).

This symbolic dimension was also expressed in the connection of Maternati to a house, both by professionals and participants, according to the following sections:

This idea of Maternati appeared as a space for these mothers and for these pregnant women, as a house and that could also have other activities and that could accompany them not only in the gestation, but later (Professional interview 1).

I and [husband] took part in our first talk circle of Maternati. When I got there, I realized I was home. The group had the same thoughts as me. They all wanted the natural course of birth! It was the same vibration! I discovered there a treasure hidden in a city so uninformed and desperate for C-section (Report of Childbirth – Mother 1).

The correspondence of Maternati to a house, according to the textual practice, occurs in a symbolic dimension, by transmitting a sense of closeness and personality, a place to feel “at ease”. In qualifying the group as a house, the members evidence that belonging, in the aspect of home, a place of safety to expose themselves and to feel welcomed. At the same time, this correspondence also evokes the space-time relationship (SAQUET, 2005), distinguishing between the motherhood of “within” - Maternati, the “me” - as welcoming, personal, explicit in the choice of the word; and that of “outside”, implicit - the predominant model, the “other” - as impersonal, interventionist, helpless. In this way, knowing the Maternati’s territory also implies knowing the other (SILVA, 1998). The legitimacy of Maternati as this welcoming territory is made by the knowledge of other territories as contrasting.

In addition, distinguishing the territory also implies distinguishing its identity patrimony (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009). The dialectic relationship (BERGER and LUCKMAN, 2004; VASCONCELOS and VASCONCELOS, 2000) present in the construction of identity is clear in the following speech, in which the differences between the “me” and the “not me” are interdependent to the identity (VIEGAS, 2014) of the group, reflected in the choice of texts, in what is present in it, and also in the absences of the text:

To live the motherhood in full, we withdraw a little from the usual social environment and we return to our home. This becomes our world. In our case: Active Moms, this world is made of research, slings, cloth diapers, milk full of love, lots of laps, amber necklaces, homeopathy, homemade toys, respect for childhood, partnership and unlimited support 24 hours a day, in the most beautiful style one mother supports the other [...] But as we turn away from our homes, we come across a gray world awaiting our precious babies: made of baby bottles, industrialized formulas, poor food, prejudice, medicalization, neglect, indulgence, consumerism, disaffection [...] (Facebook group – Mother 2).

The terms adopted - our world, we turn out - according to the textual practice - reinforce the symbolic character of territorialization, since, although recognized the boundaries established between inside and outside, these are immaterial. The demarcation of the territory advances beyond physical spaces and the territory appears as symbol, symbolic value (HAESBAERT, 2007).

Thus, by constructing a territory distinct from the other, they also implicitly narrow these boundaries, stating that the more natural motherhood is possible and, in there, surrounded by the other participants, it is smoother, more colorful, and the obstacles can be overcome.

Thus, by participating at the group, some women began to visualize their past experiences - cesarean section, artificial milk, childbirth interventions; contrary to the desired practices - as unnecessary and to realize that if they were faced with a humanized team and/or support from a group such as Maternati, they could have reversed the situation. That is, from the moment these mothers begin to belong to a new territory, their own interpretations of practices and events and, consequently, their identities, are shaped by territorialization, being conceived differently from what they were.

Such influence was clear in women who began attending Maternati after their first child. The reports showed that not only the birth of the children was different, but also the children rearing. Participation in a new territory influenced the construction of a new identity as mothers, which in turn led them to perform a new maternity. Thus, the construction of an organizational identity as a group also led to the construction of a new individual identity as a mother. This change was so strong that some reports showed guilt that one child was given a better raising compared to the other. The discursive fragments evoked, such as the one below, expressed, according to the dimension of social practice, relation with action and, in many cases, crossing of borders, making possible new combinations (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001), that is, new practices and new motherhood.

It is very different with him [...] I feel very guilty that I did not do with her the way I do with him [...] I think now I found my motherhood that I should have started with her (Mother interview 3).

In addition to identification with the practices cited above, the Maternati's territory involves its own identity patrimony (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009), manifested in other aspects as well. The beliefs in the naturalness of childbirth and motherhood as something better, healthier, that values the nature; the objects constantly used (cloth diaper/sling/amber necklace), which characterized women and their children notoriously as a distinct group ("My husband when he sees a woman with a sling already speaks: 'I saw your friends there'" (Mother Course – Mother 4)); reports of childbirth and breastfeeding; and typical dialects evidence this particular patrimony.

The use of dialects/vocabularies common to members as textual practice was strongly characteristic, reinforcing self-identification and self-differentiation of members as a group. Self-reference to "indigenous" is the principal of these terms; the search for this natural maternity, focused on femininity, women's autonomy, and the ease of giving birth and breastfeeding, is represented in the figure of "indigenous woman", which is a source of pride for them. "The indigenous friends", "looks like indigenous" were common lines that represented the values of the group and the recognition of their identity. In turn, attitudes of carelessness, flaws or others that escape their ideal of motherhood are called "less mother". Children, on the other hand, are often treated as "cubs", a term referring to nature, to being mammal - values estimated by the group. "Empowerment" is another well-quoted term, representative of a strategy to cope with the difficulties among women: "empowering", "empowered women". Before a birth, the common votes were for a beautiful "milk moon", thus encouraging exclusive breastfeeding and on demand.

In addition, it was observed that, at the same time as the appropriation and the construction of the territory generated the identity of the group, this concomitantly generated its territorialization and expansion (SAQUET, 2009). Often the novice women came looking for information on childbirth and, in some cases, still with doubts or fears. But with the coexistence with other older women in the group and with interactive exchanges of experiences and support, they reinforced the desire and choice for this and other natural practices.

As they began to participate in other activities and outside and inside these create a bond between the members, these women also created identifications that led to the additions of practices similar to their maternity, with which they had not had contact until then. The constant exchange of information and experience expanded the issues and doubts generated in the daily life of motherhood and allowed the diffusion of established practices regarding common values, generating the sharing of their experiences and the multiplication of the use of new practices. Maternity, therefore, was always in the process of being built and identified among the group, so that Maternati represented not only a space of support and reception, but also the construction of new identifications and, consequently, new practices, as the following excerpt:

You have opened the door to a new world of attachment, free demand, so many beautiful things that without you maybe I would have done everything differently (WhatsApp group – mother 5).

Therefore, the territorialization of this space generated a sense of belonging to the group, which was growing stronger over time (MATOS, 2005), so that even after having their children, they wanted to remain attached to the group, and they did, participating in other activities offered by Maternati. It was very frequent after the course of pregnant women, women also participated in groups of mothers, musicalization, workshops offered and gatherings. The frequent association of the members also generated bonds of friendship, which directed the organization of meetings by the women themselves. Even when the group of mothers ended at Maternati (the group consists of eight meetings), they met occasionally in their homes, parks, cafes or on birthday celebrations for both mothers and babies. This also extended to the building of bonds between the respective husbands, who also came to live with each other by virtue of these encounters.

There is, therefore, an expansion of territorialization beyond its geographical boundaries, involving all the spaces that the group experiences and (re)-create (COIMBRA and SARAIVA, 2013). This expansion included public spaces - such as parks and the city's Cathedral, where they organized picnics, *slingadas* (walk with the baby in sling), breastfeeding event - as well as new physical territories. An example of these new territories is the establishment of the collective or cooperative care home of mothers. Faced with the need to return to work and hoping that the raising of children was based on the same values, a group of mothers implemented a parental nursery, where parents take turns caring for their children, following common values.

In addition, the strong identification through the territorialization of the Maternati generated symbolic marks in the members (SARAIVA, CARRIERI and SOARES, 2014), which extended to other networks of contact and advanced beyond the field of motherhood. It was observed that the group's territorialization, over time, extended also to the relatives and friends of the members. Through the contact with these members - even if they did not participate in the group or exercised this natural motherhood - mothers, fathers, brothers and friends of the members became interested and helped in the dissemination of the group and the movement for the humanization of delivery and childbirth, indicating it to their acquaintances. Reports exposed by the members evidenced indications of natural practices or of the own adhesion to the group by people not directly involved, but who helped in the expansion of the territorialization of Maternati.

Complementarily, this involvement also extends to other areas beyond motherhood, reflecting on their professional lives and business networks. Some women, after childbirth, become involved in the provision of services and sales of products related to the maternal dimension, indicative of the interconnection between the symbolic and economic dimensions pointed out by Saquet (2005) and Haesbaert (2004). The sale of cloth diapers, babies' bodysuits, bibs, sensory toys, sweets free of sugar and preservatives, as well as training and acting as doula are some cases observed during data collection. There is frequent linkage to breastfeeding incentive groups, which, although constituting voluntary work, devote several periods to online and face-to-face assistance. It is common, also, for the bonds established, the contracting of services among the members according to the profession of each one.

The establishment of bonds between them, in this way, revolved much more around these symbolic identifications and shares than of face-to-face approximation or conviviality. Majority contact was virtual, but still considered as something based on deep friendships and feelings. Thus, even without the requirement of the materiality of the territory at all times, symbolic territorialization impacted and influenced the identity and motherhood of these women.

Consequently, while each of them has her own history - marked by distinct specificities - they are also identified by common searches, which are individual to each, but also seen as a collective right of all. The conquest of the Maternati's territory can be seen, therefore, both by the new identity built up and by the continuity of a greater struggle (MEDEIROS, 2009). By participating in Maternati, these women were also involved in the national movement for humanization, in a quest for changes in the country's birth scenario.

As much as the first contact with the group arises from the individual's desire to achieve the delivery and motherhood desired, when they begin to belong to the new territory and to build new identities (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009), they also begin to defend and support changes in the current obstetric and motherhood model, thus integrating the Maternati group's performance- local impact - to the national humanization movement. This reflects both the dimension of social practice, since discourse relates to power struggles and challenges existing orders - in this case a technocratic obstetric system - as well as discursive practice, since discourse is legitimized by the permeability to others discourses of greater scope.

I think these meetings we make will make a difference. What will make change is this here, we join
(Course of Pregnant Women – Husband 1).

I hope to be part of a movement that is small, but that changes the thinking of people and that we can encourage others. You go there at Maternati, you get information, empower yourself, you can do it. I want to be part of this movement (Course of pregnant women – pregnant 1).

Territory, territoriality and identity have occurred simultaneously. There was a conjugation between reproduced identities and new constructed identities that were incorporated into the daily habits and practices (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009) of Maternati. This patrimony involves material and immaterial aspects that expand and advance little by little beyond this territory, simultaneously integrating the struggle of a greater movement for change in the general Brazilian context.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this article, we reveal the relationship between territoriality and identity in the organizational context inserted in the context of motherhood. We start from the premise that territory and territoriality also happen through social actions and that these can guide the resizing of power relations, valuing symbolic-cultural identities that are built concomitantly with their territorialization (SAQUET and BRISKIEVICZ, 2009).

The empirical data demonstrated the mutual influence between territoriality and identity. As the members came to belong to the territory of Maternati, their identities were being shaped according to the territorialized symbolic values. Thus, a new identity was built and led to a new motherhood. In the case of the mothers who started attending Maternati in the gestation of the second child, this was even more evident, since belonging to this territory generated a change of identity and the adoption of new practices, evidencing two different motherhoods between the children.

In the symbolic dimension, in this case, there was use of material elements (physical space, objects used) and also immaterial representations and symbols (beliefs, dialects, bonds built) that made possible the construction of a territorial identity. The construction of this identity and the sense of belonging to the group made possible the appropriation of the territory of Maternati, as well as its distinction with the “other”, since, although such a distinction was not separated by material boundaries, it was well delimited by practices, discourses and contrasting values, in a symbolic dimension. In this way, the construction of the identity of the group also manifested itself as a possibility of subsistence and struggle against a domination that did not appeal to them (VIEGAS, 2014). Belonging to a community marked by their own identity affirmations allowed the group an identity that expressed the ability to overcome the type of delivery and motherhood that were often imposed on them, according to reports, but not of their will.

Thus, continued participation in the group led to a reproduction and extension of those identities that have advanced such frontiers. Members came to assume these identities as a struggle for context change, and as awareness and empowerment of other women. In this way, the appropriation of the territory for the members was manifested not only in the construction of a new identity, but also in the continuity of a collective struggle.

In addition, the generation of new identities impacted simultaneously on the territoriality of space. Its constitution is influenced by territory, considering that the processes of socialization are situated in a spatiality. The identity dynamics of the actors, thus, is permeated by a space, of a material and symbolic dimension, which is reflected in their identifications (CORREA and LOURENÇO, 2016). Complementarily, our study, besides ratifying such arguments, advances by showing that identity and territory extrapolate beyond the organizational boundaries and the physical territory

In considering Maternati as a territory (PEREIRA and CARRIERI, 2005), our study contributes theoretically to the advancement of the spatial dimension in the territorialization process. The frequent conviviality among women facilitated the reproduction of practices that advanced beyond the territory of Maternati, involving the adhesion of new participants; the expansion to other physical spaces - public and private -; the territorialization of new spaces - parental nursery -; the expansion to other individuals not linked to the group, who were influenced and began to disseminate the group as well; and the extension to other areas beyond motherhood - profession/business. Imposing, therefore, the non-restriction of the territorialization of a space and the concomitant constitution of the identity to organizational limits, but its advance beyond these borders.

It is also important to emphasize that the understanding and formation of the group's identity patrimony was only made intelligible, according to Berger and Luckman (2004), with its location in the symbolic universe in which it was inserted, that is,

in the territory in which it was built. Therefore, any study that focuses on these identity manifestations should simultaneously cover the historical space-time context on which it is based.

Therefore, in showing the conjugation between territory, territoriality and identity, our study seeks to rely on Saquet and Briskievicz (2009). Through the territorialization of Maternati, reproduced identities and new constructed identities are linked to and incorporated into the daily motherhood practices of the social group and, little by little, are multiplied in other new participants and other territories, thereby reinforcing and extending the territorialization of the group and inserting it into a broader context of social struggle.

The study also contributed to demonstrate the interrelationship between territorial, political, economic and symbolic dimensions. Even with the focus on the latter, it was possible to perceive the interconnection between the others. The territorialization of the Maternati space began with the influence of the political dimension, in which power struggles contrasted two models of obstetrics and motherhood, and the predominance of the model contrary to the one desired by these women hindered the intended delivery and motherhood. Thus, aligning itself with the symbolic aspect, which values this naturality and conceives it as healthier, the territorialization of Maternati was becoming and expanding, providing the construction of an identity patrimony that made it possible to advance the territory of the group. This territorialization, therefore, expands beyond the borders, reaching economic aspects as well, which involved the professional and financial scope of these women, with the establishment of sources of income and new businesses related to motherhood and linked simultaneously to the symbolic identifications.

Therefore, together, territoriality and identity contribute to a more complex approach to territorialization by highlighting how concepts are linked, since the appropriation of territory presupposes identity manifestations as well. As the members come to belong to a new territory and fill it with a territorial identity, the territorialization unfolds into new spaces, new practices and new members

We consider as limitation of the study the non-immersion in the social movement for the humanization of childbirth and childcare. Although we recognize that it is of great importance and have a significant implication in the expansion of the territorialization of Maternati, and that we have tried to capture its performance, due to its national and international amplitude, its comprehension was possible only from an external view, having a greater concentration on the point view of the group. Thus, as a suggestion, we recommend future research covering other social movements through internal experiences, as well as analyzing the relations investigated here in other support groups for mothers and pregnant women and also in other fields of research, to verify and advance the conclusions discussed here.

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