

To sip Intensities: Vignettes of a Meeting in the Existential Territory of “Palmas that Welcomes You”

Para sorver Intensidades: Vinhetas de um Encontro no Território Existencial do “Palmas que te Acolhe”

Para sorber Intensidades: Viñetas de un Encuentro en el Territorio Existencial de “Palmas que te Acoge”

Pour siroter des Intensités : Vignettes d’une Rencontre dans le Territoire Existentiel de “Palmas qui t’Accueille”

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Abstract

This work proposed to share the experiences of a project of social insertion and guarantee of rights for the homeless population with damages resulting from the use of alcohol and other drugs of Palmas, Tocantins, between the years 2016 to 2019. The project Palmas Que Te Acolhe was constituted as an existential territory for the transformation of ways of being and living of people living on the streets and who suffer damages resulting from the use of alcohol and other drugs, based on the paradigm of harm reduction, having as a strategy housing first and the offer of a package of rights: housing, food, access to network services, cultural, art and leisure activities and inclusion in income generation strategies. In order to capture photographs and descriptions of this territory, thirteen semi-structured interviews were carried out with workers and beneficiaries of the project and field diaries were created that narrate the course of the research. The Palmas Que Te Acolhe project inaugurated new ways of seeing and talking about the homeless population in the municipality of Palmas, Tocantins, to think about care alternatives that include the complexity of this phenomenon.

Keywords: alcohol, drugs, housing first, cartography, rights, harm reduction

Resumo

Este trabalho tem como objetivo compartilhar as experiências de um projeto de inserção social e garantia de direitos para a população em situação de rua e com prejuízos decorrentes do uso de álcool e outras drogas de Palmas, Tocantins, entre os anos de 2016 a 2019. O projeto *Palmas Que Te Acolhe* se constituiu como um território existencial de transformação de jeitos de ser e de viver das pessoas em situação de rua e que têm prejuízos decorrentes do uso de álcool e outras drogas, a partir do paradigma da redução de danos, tendo como estratégia o *moradia primeiro (housing first)* e a oferta do pacote de direitos: moradia, alimentação, acesso aos serviços da rede, atividades de cultura, arte e lazer, e inserção em estratégias de geração de renda. Para captar as fotografias e descrições desse território, foram realizadas treze entrevistas semiestruturadas com trabalhadores e beneficiários do projeto e confeccionados diários de campo que narram o percurso da pesquisa. O projeto *Palmas Que Te Acolhe* inaugurou novos jeitos de ver e falar sobre a população em situação de rua no município de Palmas, Tocantins, de modo a pensar em alternativas de cuidado que comportem a complexidade desse fenômeno.

Palavras-chave: álcool, drogas, moradia primeiro, cartografia, direitos, redução de danos

Resumén

Este trabajo se propuso compartir las experiencias de un proyecto de inserción social y garantía de derechos para la población en situación de calle y con daños derivados del consumo de alcohol y otras drogas de Palmas, Tocantins, entre los años 2016 a 2019. El proyecto Palmas Que Te Acolhe se constituyó como un territorio existencial para la transformación de los modos de ser y de vivir de las personas que viven en la calle y que sufren daños derivados del consumo de alcohol y otras drogas, a partir del paradigma de la reducción de daños, teniendo como estrategia la vivienda primero y la oferta de un paquete de derechos: vivienda, alimentación, acceso a los servicios de la red, actividades culturales, artísticas y de ocio e inclusión en las estrategias de generación de ingresos. Para capturar fotografías y descripciones de este territorio, se realizaron trece entrevistas semiestructuradas a trabajadores y beneficiarios del proyecto, y se elaboraron diarios de campo que narran el transcurso de la investigación. El proyecto Palmas Que Te Acolhe inauguró nuevas formas de ver y hablar sobre la población en situación de calle en el municipio de Palmas, Tocantins, para pensar alternativas de atención que abarquen la complejidad de este fenómeno.

Palabras clave: alcohol, drogas, vivienda primero, cartografía, derechos, reducción del daño

Resumé

Ce travail a proposé de partager les expériences d'un projet d'insertion sociale et de garantie des droits pour la population sans-abri et avec des dommages résultant de l'usage d'alcool et d'autres drogues de Palmas, Tocantins, entre les années 2016 à 2019. Le projet Palmas Que Te Acolhe a été constitué comme un territoire existentiel pour la transformation des modes d'être et de vie des personnes vivant dans la rue et qui subissent des dommages résultant de la consommation d'alcool et d'autres drogues, basé sur le paradigme de la réduction des risques, ayant comme stratégie le logement d'abord et l'offre d'un paquet de droits : logement, alimentation, accès aux services du réseau, activités culturelles, artistiques et de loisirs et inclusion dans les stratégies de génération de revenus. Afin de capturer des photographies et des descriptions de ce territoire, treize entretiens semi-directifs ont été réalisés avec des travailleurs et des bénéficiaires du projet, et des journaux de terrain ont été créés qui racontent le déroulement de la recherche. Le projet Palmas Que Te Acolhe a inauguré de nouvelles façons de voir et de parler de la population sans-abri dans la municipalité de Palmas, Tocantins, afin de réfléchir à des alternatives de prise en charge qui incluent la complexité de ce phénomène.

Mots-clés: álcool, drogas, logement d'abord, cartographie, droits, réduction de dégats

This text is the result of the first author's master's research, under the guidance of the second author, and its methodological design was cartography (Passos et al., 2015). The choice to narrate in the first person highlights the researcher's intervention and ethical-political affirmation in the field of study.

A person sleeps on the sidewalk of CAPS AD. Someone asks for money at a traffic light. A woman lights her *stone*. The connections sustain my work. A police officer handcuffs a user in front of CAPS. Meanwhile, the *Palmas Que Te Acolhe* project is the target of criticism from the government. "This is to support bums," says an unnamed voice. A professional questions the legitimacy of the project. The courts ask for the homeless person to be hospitalized. The social services ask for shelter. In the middle of the woods, we sculpt a clay pipe. In the middle of the scene, we exchange experiences. A movie screening is shown in the square where they sleep. A visit to the prison leaves me astonished. There is no shortage of drugs or *cachaça* (a fermented sugar cane spirit) on the streets. "Invisible" people become visible. A meaning to life is traced. Christmas dinner makes me belong to that space. A homeless person dies. He is just another person in the national context, but his death makes me question the meaning of my work. These concerns give shape to this writing. Photographs and descriptions of emotional encounters that converge to a context. (Field Diary)

The cartography shared here refers to the work carried out between 2017 and 2019, in the city of Palmas, capital of the state of Tocantins, during the professional experience at the Psychosocial Care Center for Alcohol and Other Drugs (CAPS AD III) and the academic verbiage produced in the master's degree, which focused on patching up experiences, writings, encounters and affections with the *Palmas Que Te Acolhe* (PQTA) project, as a project for the insertion and guarantee of rights for people who live on the streets and use alcohol and other drugs.

In 2017, by entering the existential territory of people who carry within themselves the experience of the street, I sought to use arbitrariness to manage the subjectivities beyond the plane of language.

That said, the lines that follow carry the intensity of the encounters experienced and, for this, I use cartography to create a territory open to affective microsensitivities (Amorim & Nobre, 2018), registered in a time interval, in the meeting

with people involved in the PQTA, workers, beneficiaries¹. The PQTA is a social inclusion and rights guarantee project carried out through the National Secretariat for Drug Policies (SENAD) and executed by the Municipal Youth Foundation of Palmas, Tocantins (Fundação Municipal de Juventude de Palmas, 2017), between 2016 and 2019. The project aimed to offer a package of basic rights (housing, food, culture and leisure, work and income) to people living on the streets and who have needs resulting from the use of alcohol and other drugs.

The PQTA was part of the REDES Project, which began in 2014, through the National Secretariat on Drugs, of the Ministry of Justice, in partnership with the technical area of mental health of the Ministry of Health and with the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger. The REDES Project was implemented in more than 20 municipalities and aimed to develop methodologies that integrate municipal public policies, to evaluate the actions of prevention, promotion and care for people with needs resulting from the use of alcohol and other drugs (Núcleo Multiprojetos de Tecnologia Educacional, 2015).

Looking at the municipal context, until 2014, there was no talk or thought about public policies to serve the homeless population of Palmas. At that time, actions to welcome homeless people in a therapeutic community in the municipality were devised through the Department of Social Development. Since then, there has been talk of implementing measures to meet the specific needs of this population.

However, since 2008, with the National Survey on the Homeless Population, developed by the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger, the existence of people living on the streets of Palmas has been identified (Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger, 2009). The absence of a specialized network of services to meet the needs of this population, combined with the scarcity of material produced and published on the subject, demonstrates the weakness of the political agenda to serve the homeless population in the capital of Tocantins.

It was only in 2017, after the implementation of the Street Consultation team, in partnership with the PQTA team, that nighttime approaches began to assess the needs of homeless people in the capital of Tocantins. At the time, more than 140 people living on/off the streets were identified (Abreu, 2017).

Situated within the care network for homeless people and users of alcohol and other drugs in the municipality of Palmas/TO, the Palmas Que Te Acolhe project is based on the housing methodology first (housing first), a strategy that proposes to guarantee access to housing immediately and without access barriers, acting from the perspective of harm reduction (HR) (Tsemberis, 2010).

"Housing first" opposes the logic of treatment (treatment first), widely disseminated in Brazil through the recent publications of the Mental Health, Alcohol and Other Drugs Policy (Decree No. 9,761, 2019; Ministério da Saúde [MS], 2019), which conditions access to housing to those users who are engaged in a treatment program for the use of alcohol and other drugs (Collins et al., 2012; Federal Council of Psychology, 2018; Evans, 2017; Pleace, 2016). Several countries have implemented the housing program first as a strategy to meet the needs of the homeless population and their mental health demands (Evans, 2017; Mendes, 2017; Rui, 2016; Secretariat for Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic, 2013).

Housing first is linked to harm reduction by considering the care of people who have problems with the use of alcohol and other drugs, highlighting the third wave of DR, as explained by Petuco (2020), a care that materializes in strategies to guarantee rights and social development. In addition, by offering housing as a primary strategy to intervene in the vulnerabilities of people living on the streets, housing first operates on the logic of low demand, a basic guideline in the care of people who have problems arising from the use of alcohol and other drugs and other vulnerabilities.

To better understand the PQTA, I described how these axes work based on the accounts of the actors who make up this narrative and the field diaries produced throughout the research. This article aims to share the experiences of the PQTA, based on the accounts of the actors who made up this project, beneficiaries and workers.

Thinking about the method: the management of cartography

This research followed the ethical standards established for research with human beings, was approved by the Research Ethics Committee under opinion no. 91912418.7.0000.5519 and uses the names of characters that are part of the work *Capitães de Areia*, by the author Jorge Amado (2008) for the participants.

The statements presented here were extracted from 13 interviews conducted with these actors, each lasting an average of 30 minutes, based on a semi-structured script that served as a guide, composed of open questions that addressed: the impacts of the PQTA on the life of the participant (beneficiary or worker), understanding of housing and food conditions, access to other project activities, perception of changes in the habit of using alcohol and other drugs and whether the participant is undergoing any type of mental health treatment, how access to intersectoral network services is provided, and the positive and negative aspects of the project.

¹ The beneficiaries are the individuals included in the project's housing.

Excerpts from my field diaries are also brought to light to allow polyphony to the voices that echoed here, demarcating the position of the cartographer as an important part of the investigation.

This work is inspired by cartographic methodology and, therefore, the object of research was constituted from immersion, since, as explained by Passos et al. (2015, p. 31), “to know reality is to follow its process of constitution, which cannot be achieved without immersion in the plane of experience”. Operating the analysis of these experiences from the cartographic perspective implies understanding the research as a process in continuous movement and, therefore, this is about the cartographic management of the materials collected in the interviews.

For Tedesco et al. (2013), the interview from a cartographic perspective includes, in addition to the exchange of information, the expansion of the gaze and listening to access the experience in its dimensions of strength and form, “so that speech is accompanied as an emergence in/of experience and not as a representation”. The cartographic management of the interview proposes to elucidate the interventionist character of the experience of speaking and listening, therefore, “speech must carry the affects specific to the experience” (Tedesco et al., 2013).

From shared experiences to subjective reflections

Softness and intensities of the territory

At this point, I invite the reader to get to know our actors and the places they occupy in this narrative. They are people of different colors, textures, smells, stories and tales. We will delve into previous and current scenarios to recreate scenes and express the emotional intensities that permeate this journey. These characters will tell us a little about how PQTA works, as well as open their lives so that we can learn about their trajectories.

The project initially could accommodate up to 20 people and the place where the beneficiaries lived was a studio apartment with individual rooms, and in the center, there was a kind of “communal area”. At the time, some conflicts arose due to the use of substances in the space, fights and thefts and, despite the team’s efforts to mediate the situation and the co-management work, the owner of the property was not interested in continuing the contract. At that time, while I was working at CAPS AD III, I visited this space once, to meet and pick up a beneficiary who had a consultation. At the time, I met Pirulito, at the time a user of alcohol, crack and tobacco who had been linked to the project for a little over two months. He says that he felt responsible for the housing space: “Keeping the project clean and organized, some users who had problems there breaking doors and causing trouble”. Pirulito was also responsible for helping another beneficiary who was bedridden, already of a certain age and with physical limitations:

I like to mention that man, Mr. Gonzales. He had been on the streets for 27 years, had even been on Linha Direta (*a television program*), and was even considered dead. He was found here in Palmas, was taken in by the project, and his family came from Pará to get him. I had the pleasure of taking care of him, I bathed him. (Pirulito)

During the research process, a little over a year after the project began, the beneficiaries were staying in a hotel affiliated with the city, near CAPS AD III, also in the northern part of the city. In this housing, the beneficiaries were divided into pairs in the rooms and the common area was the hotel’s common room, which they shared with the other guests. Regarding these living conditions, Alonso (a professional on the project) reports:

(...) it has improved. We already had a place that was already very helpful, but today it has leaped quality. Today we have a hotel, with management to take care of everything, a three-star hotel, if I’m not mistaken. In the old house, some preferred to sleep on the street, because it was managed by them. The project helped with the management, but they managed it. Now and then, the management ended up deviating from the agreement. Not so in the hotel, there is management by them, by us and by the company, it is a more aligned business, which is difficult to break with the agreement. (Alonso)

Dalva, another professional on the project, says that housing conditions have improved a lot: “So, I think that by providing housing conditions, they start to feel more dignified again, and some of them return to society and look for work.”

It is interesting to note the importance of housing highlighted in the speech of these people as a way of guaranteeing the right to have a place to live, but also of restoring autonomy and dignity (Aubry et al., 2015; Rui, 2016). As we can see in Ms. Aninha’s speech, the guarantee of having a place to live also provides greater control over drug use, contributing to its reduction: “they can control their use more, knowing that at night they know where they are going, where they are going to sleep, so it certainly makes a big difference in their lives”.

Joel, a professional who monitored the process of including beneficiaries in the project, also highlights another important factor: safety. In research conducted with the homeless population, it was possible to confirm the level of violence to which people on the streets are subject, and having a safe place to sleep contributed significantly to their quality of life (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Luta contra a Fome, 2009).

The guy who was sleeping on the street is at constant risk. So, I believe that, even to be able to sleep, I imagine how difficult it must be to sleep on the street, and there I believe they feel safer, sleep better, have a better quality of life. (Joel)

Despite this security, some beneficiaries chose to sleep on the streets on days when they used substances. Regarding this, Maria Ricardina, a professional on the project, points out:

Although the living conditions in the hotel provide an improvement in the quality of life, in the management of the use of alcohol and other drugs and contribute to the dignity of the beneficiaries, as it is not a place specifically for them alone, there are some situations in which they feel embarrassed, due to the condition they are in. (Maria Ricardina)

However, she argues:

The relationship with the hotel owner is calm, within the limits of respect, it is calm. Sometimes they disrespect each other, and then the hotel owner doesn't like it. But this was one of the best spaces for dialogue that I found, it was with this current space. (Maria Ricardina)

Volta-Seca also reports that this access is reflected in the way these people will relate to other spaces and how this implies a responsibility for their own lives. "As long as each person collaborates with what they are offering to them, because it is also a learning experience for them, it is a new mirror of life for them."

At the beginning of this research, seven beneficiaries were staying in the house and the contract with the hotel for the house was about to end; another contract had not been signed due to administrative issues with the municipal management. A few months later, the beneficiaries were staying in the house where the project's administrative headquarters are currently operating.

This space where the project operates is also located in the northern part of the city, however, it is a rented house. The entrance gate opens onto a small porch with a side hallway that leads to the back of the house, where there is a small backyard with a rustic wooden bench, a washing machine that the beneficiaries use to wash their clothes, and a large wooden table with chairs. At the main entrance, I go through a smoked glass door and immediately find myself in a small TV room with a sofa, divided from an open-plan kitchen separated by a counter. This room also has a small round table and two chairs, where I sat a few times to chat with Boa-Vida, Joel, Ms. Aninha (...). Moving on, this house also has four rooms: two small rooms that serve as space for the multidisciplinary team (they have computers, office supplies, air conditioning), a larger room for meetings, and a bathroom. (Field Diary)

Responsibility for the common space implies not only the process of self-care, but also the construction of a collective pact through belonging and solidarity.

Food supply

In addition to housing, another aspect of the project is food. At the beginning of the project, daily lunch boxes were provided to project members at lunchtime, and breakfast was a collective affair, made from food that the professionals brought and prepared at the headquarters (couscous, coffee, milk, bread).

I remember one day when I visited the project, still at the old administrative headquarters, as a psychologist at CAPS AD III along with a colleague from the team. I went there to talk about the harm reduction policy and the strategies to reduce the risks and harms of alcohol and other drug use. The welcome could not have been better. We had a conversation at the reception and, to welcome us, the project members prepared a snack table with cake, bread, coffee and juice. I had the opportunity to eat other meals at the project, and I remember the family and welcoming atmosphere that these moments provided me. (Field Diary)

Since its inception, the project has offered only one meal: lunch. Although breakfast was provided by the project team, the professionals did not receive any financial support or investment for it. Alonso says:

Lunch is a good thing, but it requires at least one more meal a day, which is dinner, because they have to do everything possible during the day to guarantee it, or wait until the next day to be able to eat. At first, lunch came in individual lunch boxes (...) we had a very good first outsourced company that provided food for the city's employees, then we had another that did the same type of service, some employees also received payment. (Alonso)

Later, when they started living at the hotel, they were offered two meals – one of them, breakfast, was provided courtesy of the hotel where the beneficiaries were staying. Lunch was then served at the city's community restaurant, under an agreement signed with the city government. João Grande says that: "the only meal they provide there (in the project)

is this one, they give us a meal ticket so we can have lunch at the community restaurant. So I have to make do, right?” Maria Ricardina adds: “We still have federal funds to invest in this issue, so we are working on the process to purchase dinner and snacks for them as well.”

However, as reported by some participants, the community restaurant does not operate on weekends and holidays, and therefore beneficiaries have to “manguear” (a street dialect that means begging for food or money) to get food on those days. This reality highlights an important weakness, caused mainly by the lack of public investment, which is the absence of more meals and the maintenance of the existing meal (lunch) on weekends and holidays.

For individuals who use alcohol and other drugs, eating a quality meal is part of harm reduction strategies and approaches that HR agents use with users in various cities and countries (Gomes & Dalla Vecchia, 2018). In this regard, Querido-de-Deus tells us about the importance of food for his quality of life: “The thing is to eat well, at least I did, when I was drinking I didn’t eat. Now, when we have it, we eat well. I didn’t sleep well either. Now everything is fine.” Raul contributes:

Knowing that you have a place to sleep and eat is guaranteed, it gives them support, right? It gives them peace of mind and even reduces their alcohol use. Many of them use alcohol, they have nowhere to sleep, they are hungry, they drink alcohol. (Raul)

The importance of ensuring that people who use alcohol and other drugs have enough food, whether sporadically or daily, affects their quality of life and health. It is common to hear reports of users who stop eating or drinking water when they are using alcohol or other drugs. This is due to other social and individual factors, as well as the effect of the substance on the body, which can inhibit appetite, cause dehydration, and insomnia – factors that can lead to worsening of the condition.

Inclusion in work and income generation initiatives

The third axis foreseen in the project is that of work and income. This is perhaps the most delicate, since it goes beyond holding income-generating workshops with the beneficiaries, but also involves job qualification, reintegration into the formal job market and, as observed in national experiences (Evans, 2017; Lancetti, 2015; Teixeira et al., 2018), the offering of a financial grant. Joel says:

When we talk about generating income, they are not thinking about the solidarity economy, they want a formal employment contract, which is what interests them the most, and what we have the most difficulty with. We here in the project considered the issue of scholarships, but we were never able to implement these scholarships, these scholarships were never implemented. (Joel)

At the beginning of the project, one of the possible income-generating activities was working in the vegetable garden, taking advantage of the large space provided by the administrative headquarters. Querido-de-Deus is the protagonist of this work. During his interview, he says:

I work with gardens, I understand gardens, a good piece of land, plenty of water. If I have at least the material to produce, it is income for us and income for the project, just like I used to do. I make an effort so that we can benefit from the garden there, and if I am healthy, I do it. (Dear God)

Zé Moleque also earned his weekly income from working in the garden: “the garden activity is what brings in the income, after the garden was finished, my income was gone, I had a good income”.

In addition to the vegetable garden, another income-generating strategy was the soap workshop. Through an agreement with the Department of the Environment, which donated used cooking oil to the PQTA, the beneficiaries and professionals reused this oil to make handmade soap and sold it throughout the city. João Grande talks about his participation in the sale of soap: “I make soap there, I earn my money from it. (...) From there I am taking something that is my own producing, right?”

Just like Dalva, who believes in reintegration into the workplace as a strategy to promote life:

(...) some identified more with the soap, others with the vegetable garden, and those who did joined the project. They like having it, even if it’s just a little, because it’s not something that can sustain them for the month, they can’t pay rent, they can’t buy a basic food basket, but they like having that little income, once a week they receive what they produced throughout the week, they like it. I think that’s very important for them. I saw that there was a very visible difference in those who joined through these workshops that generate income (...) I think that if they had a job opportunity, they would improve a lot more. So I think it’s still about that issue, of having an income, so they can support themselves. (Dalva)

Ms. Aninha adds: “There are some who go several days without using alcohol or drugs, because they are there taking up their time (...) saying ‘I was the one who won’”.

With the change of building, the beneficiaries were unable to continue caring for the garden, and few continued the soap workshop, due to limited space in the new location. Querido-de-Deus, who actively participated in caring for the garden, comments:

It was good, right? At least we had some fun, we weren't on the street or anything. Then every weekend we had some change, it helped a lot. At least with the daily expenses. We bought a snack, something, now we don't even have that. (Querido-de-Deus)

In addition to these activities, PQTA has also managed to establish partnerships with some services and churches that offer training courses (for example, some beneficiaries took a course to become a house painter, others took a computer course), however, they did not have a large number of participants due to the difficulty they had in maintaining attendance at the course/activity. Alonso reports: "it is a valid strategy to build, together with users, to establish goals, responsibilities, management of one's own money and social reintegration, whether in the formal or informal job market".

The axis of work and income, here, takes three main forms: guaranteeing an income so that beneficiaries can move towards autonomy, occupying time as a way of reducing the consumption of alcohol and other drugs, and which is also linked to the notion of dignity through work.

This vision of normalization through work is in line with what Foucault says about "politically docile and economically useful bodies" (Foucault, 1987) and it is in the exercise of biopower that factory subjectivities are produced, destined to produce and consume capital, if there is no point in their existence.

On the other hand, enabling the inclusion of these people in work spaces and income generation in a way that is contextualized with their needs and possibilities and, above all, with their desire, implies a subjective transformation that goes beyond individualistic and purely capitalist logic, to construct alternative senses and meanings.

It's not just the house: the importance of cultural, artistic and leisure activities

An important aspect of social reintegration is the individual's participation in different spaces in the city, not only those of a therapeutic or treatment nature, but also cultural, artistic and leisure activities. The PQTA also encompasses this axis, allowing its beneficiaries to attend leisure spaces, such as clubs, beaches, cinemas, theaters and other activities. Regarding this, Raul comments:

(...) we provide leisure, take them to the beach, it's excellent. Since they were homeless people, I believe it's positive because we're able to interact with society, which until now was something distant. Spending a day at the club, having fun, swimming, until now it was more about alcohol, being on the street, swimming, it wasn't much for them, so I believe that we're able to integrate them into social life is positive. (Raul)

Joel adds:

(...) we have already done some interesting activities, we have been to the movies a few times, we have been to the beach many times, we have played soccer on the court. We don't have the car anymore, the car that was part of the project was asked for back and was not returned, so today we are tied up in that sense. But we have already done some very interesting activities with a lot of support from them, they like it. (Joel)

It is interesting to observe the role that these activities play in the production of the subject's life, to make him part of that which is excluded and marginalized. Maria Ricardina points out:

In this sense, they end up feeling part of society when they occupy spaces that were previously seen as marginalized, and today they can access them with dignity as ordinary citizens. This is already a positive reflection in their lives, and harm reduction. Some activities that we carry out are soccer on some courts here in Palmas, in partnership with other services such as CAPS *Consultório na Rua* (Street Attendance). We hold discussion groups in public squares, luaus on the beaches, days of leisure at the beach, movies. Activities focused on leisure and social integration. (Maria Ricardina)

I could notice in Pirulito's speech the subtlety of this integration, when he refers to how important it was to participate in these activities offered in the PQTA: "I often cried because of the problems, because my parents kicked me out of the house, because of the situation when I left, and in the project when I had these activities, I felt included".

These deviants are denied all kinds of rights, and even the very human dimension, as they are population groups created to be seen as not belonging to the human species. The remnants of the Middle Ages are materialized in the project of a society that sees itself authorized to exclude these outsiders from public spaces.

If before the image of the homeless person was subversive to social morality, it is now the target of a multiplicity of views from institutions and actors, being crossed by an increasingly politicized discourse, although still permeated by hygienist practices and "urban cleaning", as strategies to solve the social "problem".

Enabling the transformation in the way these subjects' appropriate public spaces is, in addition to the occupation of the geographic territory, enabling the creation of meanings and relationships (Silva & Belloc, 2018).

Access to the intersectoral service network

One of the critical points of care for the homeless population is access to services, as there are access barriers for these people when they seek out the network devices. Being under the influence of alcohol and other drugs, impaired self-care, and lack of personal documents and proof of address are some elements that prevent homeless people from having qualified access to health, social assistance, education, and justice services (Silva & Belloc, 2018).

Zé Moleque shares his account of his access to the services of the intersectoral network:

The care was limited, because sometimes we would go to the *cachaça*, forget about the care, and have to go back. We weren't well taken care of, right? It got better because they follow us. There's a social worker who always follows us, from here on the project. (Zé Moleque)

Alonso, a project professional, talks about the coordination between services to improve this access:

And I think that after the projects came along, not only from PQTA, but also from *Consultório na Rua*, we were able to talk a little more with the network, it made their access easier, right. But many of them report that they never had a SUS card, they never went to a health unit. (Alonso)

Regarding access to justice devices, João Grande reports that he needed help from PQTA with the transfer of a legal case, in addition to the collection of his documents: "They helped me, they even took me to the Public Defender's Office to resolve the business of my cases".

Maria Ricardina says that, at the beginning of the PQTA, since the services were unaware of the project, sometimes their access, professionals and beneficiaries, was hindered or even denied. With the visibility that the project gained, numerous advantages were perceived, especially when it came to the attention of justice agencies, such as the Public Defender's Office, since several of these beneficiaries had already slept on these sidewalks. Silva & Belloc (2018, p. 6) explain: "Not being seen becomes more blatant when it structurally crosses the development of public policies, when it is part of those who work in public services and the production of violent situations."

It is only through institutional channels that "seeing" these subjects is authorized; in other words, to come into contact with the reality of the streets, it is necessary for the professional to come into contact with the "outside" and the symbolic charge that the street carries.

Boa-Vida, on the other hand, recognizes that he had difficulty in seeking the services he needed, before joining the project: "I was very negligent in looking for a dental clinic, or a health system, in the UPA too, right, and in the matter of some other agencies, in obtaining documentation, this and that, I was very negligent".

Access to documentation is one of the main needs presented in the reports, since for these people who are/were homeless, it is difficult to keep their documents and personal belongings in a safe place. Maria Ricardina expresses her surprise at realizing how access to personal documents is so important:

I didn't know that when someone accesses documentation they would be so happy, because this is something so normal, it's part of our lives, and for them there's even a promise, "the day I get my ID I'll never drink again." (...) it's a way of expressing the happiness of accessing documentation, which is a right that I thought was so basic. It's bureaucracy. And besides, if they don't have this documentation they are victims of violence from the police, anyway (...) just for not having an ID they get beaten by the police. (Maria Ricardina)

Castel (2008), when analyzing the condition of the homeless throughout history, makes explicit the stigmatization of those who lived in a situation of begging, those considered as "vagabonds": "they don't even have a place to fall dead (...) they are a being from nowhere" (Castel, 2008, p. 120). The term "indigent" is also coined for these subjects, people without identification and who are left in the hands of the State to manage their death. This set of papers that tell us who we are and where we come from also ensures rights and says how these bodies will be managed in life and after death (Lobo & Sobreira, 2020).

Paradoxically, the withdrawal of documentation also has its access barriers. As commented by Maria Ricardina in the report above, which also adds:

There are some difficulties, such as the fact that these people who are with us do not have work, do not have an income, and when issuing a document, a fee is required, and today we do not have the exemption or the resources to guarantee the payment of these fees. This makes access a little difficult. (Maria Ricardina)

Pirulito concludes, highlighting how the project enabled him to have access to the other services he needed, through this dialogue with the network:

The project is the flagship, it is the basic foundation when things started to happen in my life. When I joined the project, everything started to happen in my life. The issue of reintegration into society, the issue of looking at my health, how I was living. The project helped a lot. (Pirulito)

Changes in alcohol and other drug use habits

The strategy based on the housing model first comes to counter the treatment methodology first, guaranteeing a priori, fundamental rights (housing and food) and then providing support for those individuals who wish to undergo treatment of any nature (Neves, 2009; Tsemberis, 2010).

In this sense, in the PQTA, the user does not need to be abstinent to access the right to housing and, even after being included, they do not need to undergo any type of treatment. Even so, it is possible to observe changes in the habit of using alcohol and other drugs after the user has access to a place to sleep, food, access to income and social interaction. In addition to this statement, Raul comments: "Yes, consumption (of alcohol and drugs) decreases significantly, even though it is not a policy of the project that they stop using, but many of them do stop."

Ms. Aninha analyzes the use of alcohol and other drugs as a way of staying awake, to avoid suffering violence on the street, or to protect oneself from other risks of "being on the street":

(...) they manage to balance their use, so that it doesn't become as disorderly as when they are on the street. Because when they are on the street, it's like this, they drink or use to stay awake, to forget that they are on the street, today they manage this use better. (...) at night they have a guaranteed place to sleep. They say sleeping on the street is very dangerous, there is a lot of risk. (Ms. Aninha)

Maria Ricardina recognizes this change in smoking habits when she invites beneficiaries to participate in some activity in the project and asks them to attend sober, to make the most of it: "They can manage their smoking better." João Grande recognizes this change in his own life: "I used to smoke every day, but now I don't smoke every day anymore."

Although this methodology is based on the HR paradigm (Nascimento & Rosa, 2020), other HR strategies, such as those aimed at distributing supplies – such as condoms, filtered water, silicone mouthpieces (Gomes & Dalla Vecchia, 2018) and the production of pipes as a means of constructing care and guaranteeing rights for crack users (Rui, 2020) – are difficult to manage in the city of Palmas, and also in the PQTA, as commented by Joel:

(...) we have a lot of difficulty, in more practical matters, working on harm reduction with them. Manufacturing or donating supplies, that is very far from our reality. Although it is a common practice in HR programs, it is very far from our reality. (Joel)

Ensuring the right to housing has proven to be an important harm reduction strategy, as it contributes to managing the use of alcohol and other drugs, providing autonomy in building beneficiaries' life goals, recognizing significant progress and changes, and increasing the sense of security by having a place to sleep (Collins et al., 2012).

Project scrapping and the effects of uncertainty

At the time of the research, the administrative headquarters of the project was under renovation, and the project was operating in another space, temporarily rented. It is also a house, however, without space for a vegetable garden and a small backyard. According to reports from Ms. Aninha, there is no forecast for the completion of the renovation:

What I see today is this uncertainty of continuity, it's like you swim, swim, swim and die on the beach. All the work we have done, we are doing, and then suddenly, today we are like this, we don't know if we will continue, we don't know if we will stop. (Ms. Aninha)

Sharing this insecurity in the continuity of the project, Querido-de-Deus also reports:

This situation is a bit weak, we are there at the hotel, they say the contract is almost over. They say they are going to fix it there, where the little project was, at the headquarters, and so far nothing. They say they are going to renovate there, I don't know how it will be. Insecurity (...). It's more or less like that. But I believe they are not going to throw us out on the street like that. (Querido-de-Deus)

This insecurity is based on the discourses of regression that have been increasing at the local and national levels. The Mental Health, Alcohol and Other Drugs Policy, as well as the recent policy of care for the homeless population, have been facing serious threats, with the reduction of financial investments, the dismantling of services and institutional violence resulting from the discourses limited to this new political panorama (Decree No. 9,761, 2019; Law No. 13,840, 2019;

Conselho Federal de Psicologia [CFP], 2018; MS, 2019). Thus, Pirulito expresses his concern about the continuity of the project, the negative point being this: “today, the project is over, and what to do with these people? It is not sustainable”.

As Maria Ricardina explains:

The project was created to last one year with federal funding, and we are looking for alternatives together with the municipal administration, to provide sustainability, security, and to make a public policy effective, so that these people who need it so much do not lose these rights. (Maria Ricardina)

The National Policy for the Care of the Homeless Population is very recent, making it very fragile and susceptible to changes according to the current government’s project. Furthermore, changes in the legal framework that supports public policies – especially those aimed at people in social vulnerability, users of alcohol and other drugs, and people suffering from mental illness – are justified by the discourse “in favor of social well-being”, highlighting the policy of death, civilizing the “ways of killing” (Mbembe, 2016, 2018).

Recent publications by the Federal Government, as discussed previously, highlight this power struggle in which the State plays the role of executioner, annihilating differences, as pointed out by Mbembe (2016) and Foucault (2002). Although these policies seem harmless to racial issues, deep down, the bullets are aimed at the periphery, eyes are averted from the slums.

In the context of this work, we see these “murderous” functions of the State translating into the scrapping of care services, such as the PQTA, which, over the three years of its existence, had a reduced team, uncertainty about the continuity of the project and the absence of financial transfers from the Federal Government, leaving it solely up to the municipality to continue the proposal.

On the other hand, by guaranteeing this population access to the package of rights (housing, food, work and income, culture and leisure) and providing access to intersectoral services, with a low threshold of demand, this care device transforms the ways of being and living of individuals and the relationships they establish.

Subjective transformations with PQTA

It was about eight o’clock on a Friday night in December. At that time, the rain had returned after a six-month drought, accompanied by strong winds, making the air humid and hot. It was past the end of my shift, but I was still trying to convince João Grande to go to the Emergency Care Unit (UPA), because he had had a persistent cough for a few days and had been homeless for several months, and I suspected that he might be showing symptoms of pneumonia. That week, he slept at the door of CAPS AD III to protect himself from the rain. Despite my insistence, he refused to go, and I knew it was because he was afraid of getting an injection. “If I go with you, will you agree to go?”, I asked. And so, he agreed. I put him in the car and we went to the UPA, where we stayed for another two and a half hours, doing the triage, waiting for a doctor’s appointment (the Friday night shift, as usual, was full), taking injectable medication and getting an IV drip. However, after all this ordeal, I knew that he would return to the streets, to that same vulnerable situation. I had already discussed João Grande case with the Palmas Que Te Acolhe and Consultório na Rua teams in other situations. In a call with Maria Ricardina, a professional from the project, I explained his current situation, and she advised me to take him to the hotel where the beneficiaries were living, and then we would discuss in detail his need to be included in the project. (Field Diary)

This case tells the story of João Grande inclusion in the PQTA in 2017, which goes far beyond ensuring that he has a place to sleep but also instilled a sense of belonging to a place. For him, who had been on the streets for over 10 years, he now had a place to call home and a support point to redefine his relationships. “I even saw my daughter, through the PQTA, they even helped me find my daughter, I hadn’t seen her for about six years” (João Grande). The transformations engendered by the PQTA affected the relationships that were inscribed there and produced new ways of being and living.

Furthermore, through the reports and experience with PQTA, the project contributed to fostering socialization in other spaces and with other people, going beyond the existential limits of the context of drug use. Joel comments that when they are homeless they interact only among themselves: “here they have the opportunity to interact with other people who are not homeless, to go to public events, so they go to the movies, participate in physical activities, something that does not happen when they are on the street”. In addition to this experience, Jorge Amado wrote about his *Capitães de Areia* (2008):

Then the moonlight spread over everyone, the stars shone even brighter in the sky, the sea became completely calm (perhaps Yemanjá had also come to listen to the music) and the city was like a great carousel where the Captains of the Sands spun around on invisible horses. In this moment of music they felt like they owned the city. And they loved each other, they felt like brothers because they were all without affection and comfort and now they had the affection and comfort of music.

The construction of the PQTA, as a care device, inaugurates new ways of making people see and speak, lines of force that operate agencies on the phenomenon of the homeless population (Deleuze, 1996; Nascimento, 2019).

Costa (2007) constructs the concept of social invisibility, as that subject who, being invisible, no longer arouses

affection and personal exchanges. The work at PQTA awakened in these people the openness to see what was previously invisible and, from this perspective, make other affections and experiences emerge.

Final considerations

The PQTA inscribed transformations in the bodies that exude from the pores, overflow, intertwine in this sea of affections, caresses, hugs and produce plural forms of existence, making it possible to inhabit the fold of encounters and exist in the unfinished.

In the lines of this writing, I proposed to deterritorialize the status of scientific knowledge, which does not come into contact with the object of research, and I sought to (r)exist in the softness of the good encounters that the experience with PQTA provided me, affecting and being affected by the stories, tales, textures, flavors, smells of these people who inhabit the street and are part of it.

It broadened my view of harm reduction, not only as a set of strategies to improve the quality of life for users of alcohol and other drugs, but also as a paradigm for guaranteeing rights and citizenship. Drug use, in the context of the street, stands out as a possibility of resistance, of enduring the place of exclusion.

This clinic is carried out in existential and geographic territories, in dialogue and agreement with the user, anchored in the understanding of harm reduction as an ethical-aesthetic-political care stance (Nascimento & Rosa, 2020), constructed singularly, valuing the subject's particular experience, and showing that affection reduces harm.

I am now able to see the street as an existential territory that contains itinerant subjectivities, and welcomes differences, those who do not fit in, the city's outsiders. In the process of writing the research, I overturned my conceptions about how to see the street, and immersed myself in the countless experiences that the encounter with the street provided. I recognized the clinical work outside of an institutional space, but that is done in the territory, in this itinerant clinic, in this therapeutic journey. After all, good clinical practice is done by looking at the social, cultural and historical context to then operate subjective transformations (Nascimento & Rosa, 2020).

It is important to note, however, the weaknesses highlighted by the voices that have been voiced in this article. The scraping of the project and its subsequent discontinuation created insecurity among the people who were part of it, who were at risk of returning to the streets. The lack of public investment in public policies, which aim to guarantee rights for people in vulnerable situations during the time frame of this research, reveals the various forms of invisibility of the homeless population and people with losses resulting from the use of alcohol and other drugs. Meanwhile, the advancement of funding for therapeutic communities, in this same period, advanced by leaps and bounds, rescuing the logic that we thought was outdated: the asylum logic of imprisonment, exclusion and punishment.

Furthermore, the limitation of national productions on initiatives to guarantee rights and social inclusion based on housing first, or housing first, at the time of this research, weakens the theoretical support to promote discussions on the topic. Most of the publications found portray the reality of other countries which, although very important to explain the effectiveness of the model, reflect a reality different from Brazil. To continue this research and, therefore, produce more evidence on the housing proposal first, new studies are necessary.

Housing first, therefore, inaugurates a care device that operates in the subtlety of relationships based on the guarantee of the right to a home and the management of one's own life, producing changes in the ways of relating to others and to oneself.

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