

NOMADY CORPOGRAPHIES: ABOUT HOMELESSNES STORIES, SOCIAL CHALLENGES AND HETEROTOPIES

CORPOGRAFÍAS NÓMADAS: HISTORIAS DE CALLEJIZACIÓN, DESAFILIACIONES SOCIALES Y HETEROTOPIAS

CORPOGRAFIAS NÔMADES: HISTÓRIAS DE RUAS, DESFILIAÇÕES SOCIAIS E HETEROTOPIAS

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Objective: to analyze the body records of social disaffiliation and stigma based on the life stories of people in street situations, crack users of the state capital of Santa Catarina, Brazil. **Methods:** a qualitative and socio-historical research that used life stories as a data collection technique among 20 people in Florianópolis, Santa Catarina. **Results:** during the daily traffic, people in street situations often appropriate heterotopic spaces (bus stations, parks, bridges and airports) in order to survive. Indeed, the (not) importance accorded to the body and the social disaffiliation imposed by different socio-political protagonists, have a close relationship with the norms of control and social dominance. **Conclusions:** given the terrors spread by it ways of governing the lives of people in street situations, both at the State and microphysical level, it is important to think about dialogic divisions that approximate an inclusive, transversal, progressive and sustainable social and health policy in the weather.

Descriptors: Collective Health. Homeless. Crack. Stigma. Vulnerability.

Objetivo: analizar los registros corporales de la desafiliación social y el estigma a partir de las historias de vida de personas en situación de calle, usuarios de crack de la capital del Estado de Santa Catarina, Brasil. Métodos: investigación cualitativa de cuño socio-histórico que utilizó las historias de vida como técnica de recolección de datos entre 20 personas en situación de calle de Florianópolis, Santa Catarina. Resultados: durante el tránsito cotidiano, las personas en situación de calle, frecuentemente se apropian de espacios heterotópicos (estaciones de buses, parques, puentes y plazas) para sobrevivir. Efectivamente, la (no) importancia otorgada al cuerpo y la desafiliación social impuesta por diferentes protagonistas sociopolíticos, presentan una estrecha relación con las normas de control y dominio social. Conclusiones: ante los terrores difundidos por los modos de gobernar las vidas de las personas en situación de calle tanto a nivel Estatal como microfísico es importante pensar en desdoblamientos dialógicos que se aproximen a una política social y sanitaria inclusiva, transversal, progresista y sostenible en el tiempo.

Descritores: Salud Colectiva. Personas sin Hogar. Crack. Estigma. Vulnerabilidad.

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Objetivo: analisar os registros corporais da desfiliação social e o estigma com base nas histórias de vida de pessoas em situação de rua, usuários de crack da capital do estado de Santa Catarina, Brasil. Métodos: pesquisa qualitativa de cunho socio-histórico que utilizou as histórias de vida como técnica de coleta de dados entre 20 pessoas em situação de rua de Florianópolis, Santa Catarina. Resultados: durante o trânsito cotidiano, as pessoas em situação de rua frequentemente se apropriam de espaços heterotópicos (estações de ônibus, parques, pontes e praças) para (sobre)viver. Efetivamente, a (não)importância outorgada ao corpo e a desfiliação social imposta por diferentes protagonistas sociopolíticos apresentam uma estreita relação com as normas de controle e domínio social. Conclusões: diante dos terrores difundidos pelos modos de governar as vidas das pessoas em situação de rua tanto no nível Estatal como microfísico torna-se importante pensar em possibilidades praxiológicas e dialógicas que se aproximem de uma política social e sanitária inclusiva, transversal, progressista e sustentável no tempo.

Descritores: Saúde Coletiva. Pessoas em Situação de Rua. Crack. Estigma. Vulnerabilidade.

Introduction

Walking down the conduction of the ruptures and discontinuities of time, a public-collective space is designed that provides individuals with diverse modes of existence. At the same time, it inscribes with intolerant and segregationist universes to impose disaffiliations and punishments for those who express resistance through their bodies (or differences) to dogmatic imposition and historically prescribed normative codes.

Between steps, dialogues and looks in these nomadic cities we find people in street situations, who with their polyphonic voices worry us to seek answers about the meanings that body marks bring with them and the inexorable weight of their life stories that are product of the marks in turn of emotional and spiritual affective life (considering the body and mind as an unit that expresses itself in these dissenting people of the socially accepted).

It becomes important here to emphasize that the expression “in street situation” appears as a terminology adopted to differentiate it from the pernicious word “indigent” and from the usual expression “person of the street”. The first because we refuse to continue perpetuating the negative semantic load that etymologically associates the person to be a “non-person” and the second, because we consider that the expression “person of the street” designates the possession of an object (street) on a subject (person) and according to our experience, the phenomenon of homelessness is more linked

to an opposite process of appropriation of the subject to the object, which is consequently more dynamic, multifactorial and polysemic.

On the other hand, when launching the analysis proposal on the inscription of the events in the corporeality as an external representation of the emotional life of people in street situations, we aim to unveil the frames that compose it and that simultaneously delimit the irregular game of the life in this public scenario, listening to those subjects who mobilize their life in transitory scenarios and who register their steps there.

The above in line with the budgets of authors who affirm that urban space transforms its inhabitants, at the step that interferes with their lives, and it is from their demands that the city shows importance in the internal and peripheral activities of the population. According to this logic, the authors highlight that the human being uses and shapes the city, being that, in this alternative swing, it is also used and shaped by it⁽¹⁾.

In this sense, to think about the relationship between the body and the city is also to reflect on the processes of subjectivation of the population, since it is from the spatial experimentation that the passers-by experience that are pierced by aesthetic events and incorporate what they have lived, absorbing various information that would constitute their ways of becoming subject, then, to be human⁽²⁾.

On the other hand, but in a complementary way, by associating the domain of corporeality,

the nomadism of the city and homelessness we can not fail to recognize the relative social stupor (and consequently political, because social life is simultaneously political) that keeps aside, the attention for these phenomena. This situation, which goes beyond the issue of social exclusion, portrays the vulnerability and imbalance of society as a whole, pointing to what is called social disaffiliation⁽³⁾.

That is, the separation of a growing population group in what is called exclusion-exclusion, which, because it distances itself from the sphere of formal productivity, is seen as unhelpful and unrecognized in a necro-capitalist society and consumption⁽⁴⁻⁵⁾. In this sense, recent data report that, in Costa Rica, for example, the phenomenon is increasing at an exponential rate. Thus, currently the records granted by the Target Population Information System of the Mixed Institute of Social Assistance show around of 8,000 people nationwide who are in a street situation in response to different factors such as extreme poverty, immigration status of illegality, unemployment, disability, belonging to the LGBTIQ+ community, among others⁽⁶⁾.

In the search for those bodies that write with their presences verses in spaces not considered suitable for the room and yes for transit, there is no pretended emphasis on homologating and much less on homogenizing the body of these urban protagonists. Moreover, what we anchor in itself is to scrutinize a collective body that emerges as a witness from social enunciation agencies, which compose direct (in) discourses through the innumerable voices that inhabit them.

It is because of the above that it becomes easy to recognize that urban space, imbued with sociocultural values, is revealed as a place of welcome and neutral towards the individuals that transit and/or inhabit it. There is also in this dynamic, a process of creation of other worlds, of Foucaultian heterotopies, which raise public space to the statute outside⁽⁷⁾. That is, places where different ways of relating to people and the city are possible, through choices that

escape the moralizing judgment of good and evil, considering the particularities of contexts.

Going deeper into this last aspect, it becomes a priority to define nomadic cities in analogy with heterotopies as counter-spaces. That is, as places of mythical and real challenge. That is, spaces that are absolutely others. Places that society conditions on its margins, in the empty areas that surround it. We talk about spaces that are rather reserved for individuals whose behavior is translated into body and deviates from the average or the prescribed norm.

When talking about these issues, it becomes important to highlight some aspects that lead to the notion of life stories impregnated in the vast body skins that register in heterotopic spaces, agency of possibilities, to the extent that it promotes the intersection of cultural, social forces, political, economic, ecological, historical and moral. In that sense, the objective is to analyze the body records of social disaffiliation and stigma based on the life stories of people in street situations, crack users of the state capital of Santa Catarina, Brazil

Methods

This is a qualitative research, elaborated within the socio-historical delineations, that used life stories as a technique to gather the experiences of people in street situations, crack users of the municipality of Florianópolis, Santa Catarina, Brazil, in the period from March 2012 to May 2013.

The life histories investigated for this study were selected from the group of people who frequented the main “crack smoke-places” – places for the consumption of the substance located mainly under bridges, parks, squares and near the largest bus station – located in the central region of the city. The place for the realization of this collection was chosen by the participant inside the crack smoke-places itself. During the interview, we sought to ensure a horizontal, dialogic and interactive relationship, creating a climate of bilateral and reciprocal

respect. The initial approximation with the participant population was given through the insertion into the crack smoke-places and an initial “listening center” was carried out and thus be able to “break the ice” and not be perceived as a threat.

When framed in the master’s dissertation entitled “Crack: life stories of homeless people” and as there is an exponential incidence – number of new cases – of crack consumption among the population in a Brazilian street situation, participants were selected who presented consumption active and problematic of this substance.

The composition of the cases studied was based on the verification of inclusion criteria such as: being a person in a street situation in the city of Florianópolis/SC for at least two years – this period guaranteed a greater approximation and experience of the person with the heterotopic street non-place – age equal to or greater than 18 years, being a crack user, since it was a necessity for the academy and the political decision makers to possess empirical information about the behavior of this population, the substance and factors related to consumption. The aforementioned responded to crack being one of the illicit substances with an incidental behavior and of higher prevalence in the State and the country. The exclusion criterion was related to not being under the effect of any psychoactive substance at the time of the interview.

After the initial approach within the crack smoke-places and the clarification of possible doubts about the investigation, especially about the confidentiality of the information offered, 20 people agreed to participate, signed or wrote their name in the Informed Consent Term. In this way, the provisions of the ethical precepts based on the Norms and Guidelines that regulate Research involving Human Beings were complied with, according to Resolution No. 466, of December 12, 2012, of the Brazilian National Health Council.

The study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (REC/FUSC) according to certificate No.

202.673. Interviews oriented by a semi-structured script were conducted individually, in the places where the participating population was. On average they lasted 90 minutes. That time was mainly determined by the daily life activities of these people (food, hygiene, consumption of psychoactive substances - SPAs, withdrawal symptoms, the activities they called “work”: car care, recycling, sex-service, between others).

Given the specificity of the methodology, the interviews were compiled by means of a digital recorder and in the sequence they were carefully transcribed and transcoded with the objective of re-adapting words that in Portuguese were misused or eliminating bad words that for reasons of the publication would not be accepted in the magazines.

However, it should be clarified that the transcoding process did not modify in any way the intention or the meaning of the expression elaborated by the interlocutor. To verify this, two external persons (co-investigators) and the same participant were evaluated (to the extent possible or when they were found to read the interview, obtaining the signature of the Term of Assignment of the Interview) to validate the changes made.

The discursive saturation technique was adopted to delimit the sample of this study. Defining saturation as an epistemological instrument that considers within its conception the redundancy of shared stories that occurs in the structural sample resulting from the research process.

It is also important to declare that the original names were deleted and assigned the “Participant” code followed by an Arabic number and by the self-identified gender, in order not to compromise their identity. Additionally, for the analysis of the material, the Lawrence Bardin content analysis technique was used, which exposes and systematizes the content of the messages and the expression of the information obtained following the stages of: collection and preparation of the information; unitization of content; classification of units into categories; description and interpretation of information.

Finally, the interpretation of the data was carried out in the light of Erving Goffman's Stigma theory and Robert Castel's Theory of Vulnerability and Social Disenrollment.

Results and Discussion

The trajectory of people in street situations (crack consumers) – named by Castel as supernumerary beings for the new capitalist realities – involves a dermal history of gradual losses and disconnections. In addition, this population is characterized by presenting infinite vulnerabilities that are drawn into extreme challenges for care services and the implementation of public policies.

The depth of these experiences that have as a common denominator the protection for the public/urban counter-space, has a capital level of previous territorial and identity emptying that, in many moments, before being in the limit situation of being in the streets, they have already gone through other processes of wide circulation and unquantifiable detachment circuits.

Preceded to the analysis of the experiences of these people, it seems pertinent to proceed to the characterization of the participating population. In this regard, it is stated that the diversity of stories was embodied in 15 people who identified themselves as male participants, a fact that coincided with the sex assigned at birth (cis-gender) and five participants self-identified with the female gender (four cis-gender and a trans woman), aged between 18 and 35 years.

In relation to their city of origin, ten participants came from Catarina cities (Santa Catarina) and the other half came from other southern states of Brazil (Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná). Particularly, 15 were declared white participants, three brown and two Afro-descendants. Among them, the distinction of income that ranged between R\$10.00 and R\$60.00 per week (\$3-\$20 American dollars) was mentioned. Most of them (18) stated that they could read and write, but they had low education (incomplete elementary school), the other two only knew to write their own name.

Regarding the trajectory on the street, most of them (16) became on the streets due to problems with psychoactive substances (alcohol and/or other drugs such as crack, marijuana, volatile inhalants such as cobbler cement), three due to unemployment and one due to family situations, specifically the woman who experienced transsexuality, who was expelled from her home at age 16, after her parents learned of the non-linearity identified between the sex assigned to the to be born and the techno-artificial genre imposed.

This last aspect portrays what could be analyzed as a norm in the life stories of the participating population. This has to do with the fact that, throughout the transit process in the nomadic life and the prescribed social disaffiliation, the people in the street situation went through successive losses, which were recorded in their bodies as denoted by the following stories:

I decided to live here on the street when I started using the stone [crack]. I remember that I was about 17 years old and my parents didn't even care. I was like a ghost in the house, I didn't exist. The street was the one that received me, but the price to pay was very high [...] At the beginning it was nice, but after being here I lost everything, my name, my body, I lost who I am, I don't know who I am, I don't know what I am [...] (Participant 4, self-identified as male).

Now I have nothing, I am nothing [...] I have lost everything, and I keep losing it. Every day I lose my life. I here on the street do not live, I survive. All my battle mates and I are from death. In the end she [referring to death] the only thing that can take away from me is my shell [referring to the body] because even my soul is already lost. (Participant 11, self-identified as female).

In the previous narratives it is possible to recognize the dynamics of loss of life, of the feeling of belonging, of family and individual attachment and identity, all aspects that are necessary for the strengthening of psychosocial and civil competences. This process of narrated losses also explains the process of identity and individual disaffiliation that is also social and collective. Although some social disaffiliates may have in their stories common elements that lead to a certain way of existing and resisting, the labyrinths of each event that places them in

some complex circuits of double exclusion must be traversed: exclusion by society (on the part of otherness because their bodies and behaviors are repelled) and self-exclusion as a result of the inability to process feelings⁽⁸⁻¹¹⁾.

That policy of identity loss is effectively permeated – if not really conditioned – by stigmas and exclusions. The identity here in individual and social question (which is also more virtual and not so much real), according to the classic author on the subject, this identity clearly carries a stigma that affects the self-recognition of the person accentuated by the oppressive understanding of the regulations and expectations imposed by others for each being⁽⁸⁾.

Reflecting on these aspects we must clarify that the intention of this analysis is not linked to the homogenization of what is understood by social disaffiliation, stigmatization or social exclusion of people who have located in the periphery of society. What is sought is to reveal the nuanced convergences in their bodies and that have been externalized through the story, be it for their experiences, realities, daily life, practices or for the elements that circumscribe them.

Consequently, it is this position that allows knowing the meanings attributed to the body, to homelessness and in the case of this study to the substance of daily consumption. In this last sense, the crack in the vision of the participating population had a dual-dichotomous meaning: Life vs. Death. On the one hand, it was the engine that motivated their daily activities and on the other, it was interpreted as dying daily. The above is exemplified in the following stories:

No one could imagine how crack is so wonderful and perverse at the same time. He gives you life while you take it away. (Participant 8, self-identified as male).

When I started using crack, I felt alive and now I feel dead. The street transformed me, the stone transformed me, the cachaça [referring to alcohol] transformed me, I stopped being what I was, I lost my life. I have never imagined that it would reach this point of pity. (Participant 20, self-identified as female).

The previous stories reveal the weight of the words “life” and “death”, logos that are materialized in the crack and that are capable

of inscribing existential marks in the bodies of these people. It is possible in this dichotomous analysis to recognize the sensation of pleasure and pain that crack offers for its users, because in fact, the experience of the use of psychoactive substances depends not only on the physical-chemical effect on the body, but also on the social representation that the objective substance and anchor in their individuals. Particularly, the dual construction of the psychoactive substance has a direct interference in the user experience and with its social representation.

Indeed, hedonism (determination of pleasure as a supreme good) perceived after the contact exerted by the thunderous stone with the bodily ramifications nourishes the super laxation of the feeling of pleasure. But, in addition, the negative meaning and its perfidious configuration points to the human construction of a disaffiliation, exclusion and non-social belonging, where the sociocultural field necessarily has a weight in this representative anchor.

On the other hand, by delving into aspects such as the activities carried out in their daily lives that collaborate with the disaffiliation in areas of exclusion and non-family or relational insertion, we are in accordance with the “Castelean” precepts that in many cases, by the person in street situation being immersed in outrageous conditions, the transgression of the law appears to itself as a possibility of obtaining something you need and this feeds the stigma attributed by society. The above could be demonstrated through the following speech:

I steal because it's the only thing I can do to keep myself. In the end, you the one that is on the other side, they are the ones that force me to steal from you. If I could work with dignity, do you think I would do this? But no, I can't, you don't give me the opportunity, and if you want to ask for money honestly, you don't give it, what you give to one is your back or give you a face of disgust. That is why one is forced to steal or assault or sometimes even kill. (Participant 18, self-identified as male).

The linguistic weight of the expression “you the one that is on the other side” in the narrative of the participant, is able to draw the self-perception of social otherness that in the vision proposed in that discussion, is sufficient to justify acts of transgression to the law, but

that rather solidify these structural barriers of exclusion and disaffiliation. Regarding this, it was observed that, in the middle of the survival alternatives used by that population, begging, car surveillance, recycling, paid sexual activity and robbery/assaults were also found. Indeed, these last two options in the social sphere symbolically legitimized social discrediting and further contribute to the stigmatization and disaffiliation that is assigned by that social otherness.

However, despite not being a rule that people in street situations as a whole get involved in violations of the norm – in goffmanian words – the entire population ends up having their appearance connected to those whose behaviors were considered as potentially deviants⁽¹²⁻¹³⁾.

Paradoxically, the search for social recognition, although mimicked by the stigmatizing aspect of illegality, for example, based on these behaviors that broke with laws and regulations, opened a space for the exercise of (pseudo) autonomy. Well, commonly detached from the formal sphere of work and, consequently, from stable sources of income, they would be subject to involvement with criminal activities and the precariousness of their citizenships⁽¹²⁻¹³⁾. Thus, people adhere to anomie behavior caused by the same perverse system. Hence the dichotomy between the consumer and the crime.

But, although in this research there seems to be a common denominator among the experiences and stories told, we must confess that there are some people who, although in the process of social disaffiliation, can present high standards of quality of life, which demonstrates the complexity of the discussion on the subject, since, in some cases, the boundaries between what makes someone a social affiliate or not are very tenuous.

In another order of ideas, and when addressing other resources that are used for discredit, stigma and social disaffiliation, it relates to the care of the bodies of people in a street situation within non-space. Most participants reported using public lavatories at bus stops to take a shower. Some of them used the service offered by shelters and only one used the relatives' house occasionally.

I have to tell you that what I like most is to be clean, but there are no places where you can bathe freely. People think that, because one is on the street, one is a piece of garbage, they think that one likes to be dirty and that is why they reject it. But it is not so, on the contrary, one is dirty because he has no place to bathe or wash his clothes. That is why one has to manage to take care of oneself and stay clean. (Participant 13, self-identified as male).

People think that We are garbage and that one should not have been born, just because it is dirty and smelly. They do not know that what one would like is to be well groomed, but it is very difficult to find places to bathe and look good. No toilets to defecate [modified word] has one. That is why you see here when you enter [referring to the smoke place] stool [modified word], urine [modified word], garbage and everything else. (Participant 2, self-identified as female).

The imposed process of social disaffiliation and the burden of self-stigma and social stigma linked to the virtual identity of the person in a street situation is evidenced in the reification speech and rejection “they guess we are garbage”. The dialogues with the social thought that has been reproduced in the landscape sanitation media without being interested in the strategic set of social support and foster care.

In this regard, it is pointed out for the frequent use of public space as a place of hygiene and realization of organic-physiological needs. For this reason, the difficulty of accessing specific places for the execution of body care contributes to the stigmatization of their bodies and by relating their appearances to careless representations.

Certainly, when it comes to life on the street and the difficulty of access for the affirmation of hygiene and comfort actions, the materialization of a society that builds spaces of exile in its interior was perceptible, often based on expulsion. of some bodies that escape the utopian norm of “ideal body” outside collective environments. Moreover, note that social disaffiliation offers a diverse and rugged panorama of vulnerabilities, rather than homogeneous and linear, for that reason it is significant to map their interruptions and continuities present in the lives of these people^(3,10).

Given the previous context, as can be seen, in the middle of this heterogeneous transit, people in street situations are frequently forced to create (or appropriate) heterotopic spaces. The

heterotopias have a function in relation to the rest of the space, either in the sense of producing illusions of order or disorder in compensation with the measures of disorder and order of the institutionalized spaces of society in general, more always lead to the idea that the structure is not cohesive^(7,16).

It is precisely through the ruptures that people in street situations find in the structure and the multiple possibilities and roads, that they may build other spaces. In this case, spaces that are apparently less dignified, less human and less supportive.

In this experimental movement in shared cities, we must try to understand how such heterotopic routes are constructed, in order to come into contact with the invention aspects of exposed lives and survival alternatives that attest to a certain local history and, which contribute in its own way, for the affirmation of an existential policy⁽¹⁷⁻¹⁸⁾.

In this regard and addressing the issue of overnight and re-significance/appropriation of urban spaces, it was identified that the vast majority of the people who participated referred to sleeping on the streets and only four claimed to sleep occasionally in shelters or sleeping centers. However, the majority of people reported not feeling comfortable sleeping on the street due to the violence present in that space or because of discomfort, the rejection of shelters or other institutions was due to what these people identified as lack of freedom, to strict entry/exit times, unable to sleep with their partners and the prohibition of entry of their pets or the use of alcohol and other drugs within these facilities.

Thus, although currently, shelters arise as an option to spend the night, the conditions to be one of its users end up in certain cases moving away the population in a street situation that does not match the imposed measures. In addition, many of these people identify in the physical-structural conditions of these institutions, various irregularities, and questionable hygienic conditions: bathrooms, bedding and dirty rooms, wet mats, among other aspects that make permanence in those spaces as a non-possibility:

Just because they see one half dirty and smelly, they think that one is an animal, that it is not a person, so they always give the worst. Even in the dormitory centers, they give him all the remains of food that they would not give them to a dog, and they put a mattress all wet, smelly and dirty lying on the floor to sleep. That is why I prefer to sleep in my little cardboard here in my little house, in my little house [referring to the street], that even being so dirty is much cleaner and has more human warmth than in that place. (Participant 17, self-identified as male).

The interlocutor's story again highlights the invention of other places by people in a street situation^(7,16). According to the philosopher, those real places are appreciated that are located outside all places and that throughout history have undergone changes that involve incompatible spaces. Being these, sometimes heterotopies of the deviation, placed outside the society and directed to individuals considered as deviators of the norm.

From this conceptualization, the street becomes another place that often operates at a different time (heterochronies), sheltering people who grant in their body testimony another space located outside. And in the transit towards that exterior of the interior, experiences arise that distinguish the walks⁽⁷⁾.

On this point, it is visualized that throughout the insertion in the city space, events related to adaptation, creation and violation that affect the bodies not only in appearance, but also in what they possess (in) material, in behaviors. In the various trajectories reported, the testimony is articulated transversely with the passage through wandering fragments.

In that sense, their bodies, marked by aspects of social inequality, end up becoming extensions of space, as, for many, they are not even seen as people, but as impediments to the maintenance of good order and social urban landscape.

Hygienist measures and forced displacement of this population to other locations are also noted in other specific cases^(3,10). Here the logic reappears materializing in the difference, in the production of new depositories of bodies that rise under the demand for protection. One aspect of the dynamics of this population is marked by nomadic displacement, which is caused by the search for resources and by the continuous

expulsion of places used for rest. Participant 19 describes this reality as follows:

Just by seeing me, people sitting in the park resting, they call the municipal police because they think I'm going to assault them or because maybe they think I harm the beauty of the landscape. I think it's more that, they think that with my face and with my clothes I affect them and then the police come to take me out of here and send me to any other place far from the city center. (Participant 19, self-identified as male).

Indeed, the reports of cases of extermination and sanitation of people in street situations were constant. They are clear examples that help to accentuate a scenario of exclusion marked by interests that segregate groups, mainly, depending on the physical, urban and economic aspects.

Given the contemporary segregation scenario made possible by stigmatizing processes, there are mechanisms to control the “unwanted” bodies that reinforce the imperative of circulation and intensify the breakdown of the rights of these subjects through sanitariat strategies. Such logic feeds, in turn, a whole monitoring network that goes on to monitor the movements of said suspects in the name of security and urban beautification.

In this context in which there is a constant demand for (apparent) protection. Some authors report that a notion of risk is born with the intention of anticipating the possibilities of emergence of the danger, which necessarily act on the existing danger^(3,14). There being, therefore, a series of risk control strategies aimed at the virtuality of the danger and/or risk.

This in turn has a foundation from the criminal law of the enemy that Günter Jakobs promoted in 1985 to refer to the rules that should be included in the German Criminal Code⁽¹⁸⁾. These penalize conduct that, without being carried out, would have affected the legal good. In other words, the person is punished not for the act committed but for the danger of the possible act. In the case that happens to us, the person living in the street is considered dangerous by consumption and their physical appearance. Therefore he is declared an enemy and control measures are applied within the framework of this legal paradigm.

In consensus with this logic, other authors also highlight that the space – called in this heterotopic investigation – it works as a social control device, as the way in which its forces are arranged, seeks the maximization of security and the dispersion of the resistances⁽¹⁹⁾.

On the other hand, by virtue of the notion of exclusion being very broad by placing different adversity conditions in the same package, it is emphasized that this expression must be problematized, in order to express the singularities of the trajectories of the subjects that are inserted in the processes of marginalization and social disaffiliation⁽³⁾.

In that direction, the author proposes to see the excluded person, at many times, as a disaffiliated whose social ties have been weakened when compared to previous states of social equilibrium or full recognition of their citizenship.

On that same aspect, when addressing the health conditions to which the participants were exposed, they all claimed to have some health problem – tuberculosis, hypertension, psychiatric/mental health problem, HIV, vision problems – they also stated that in the case of something very serious to happen they always looked for the emergency service in the system of medium complexity or second level of care (community level) or resorted to the university hospital, having always suffered discrimination, rejection, ill-treatment or denial of care by health personnel and people who practiced there.

I got the “SIDA” for being in the street prostituting me to get crack and yet when I go to the university hospital and nobody gives a damn, everyone makes a face of disgust, they leave me for the end even if I'm dying of pain and always put the rookie to treat me as punishment for him. Can you imagine how I feel? Worse than a dog, because for doctors I am nobody, I don't care. (Participant 5, self-identified as female).

In the end I prefer to die here on the street than go to the emergency room, because I know that they will not even see me again. It happened to me that I was waiting for about 10 hours for an infection that he gave me when a partner stabbed me and they didn't care, I preferred to get out of there and come to heal me only here on the street. That is why I tell you that one here live with death, although for them one is already dead. (Participant 1, self-identified as male).

Released to the rejection and denial of the right to health, the weakening of the place of their citizenship status is also observed in the loss of health as an ideal and value, of the conditions of quality of life and even of survival. The latter being marked by the suspension of the rights produced by the state of exception as a rule – as it was said regarding the Auschwitz concentration camp – from which the extreme situation appears converted into the paradigm of everyday life⁽²⁰⁾.

In that sense, in the street – considered as a concentration camp for private bodies that become public – the state of exception and unrecognized human rights coexist towards this population. Thrown to the fate of those who have no roots, of those who wander making their home anywhere, their corporeality appears linked to the notion that depends on others to exist.

This is how the current necropolitical regime works, condemns them to direct (in) death. It is interesting to think that, even though currently the death sentence is no longer used as a formal means of extinction of the “problem of people in a street situation” we can still see extinction strategies by abandoning them, disaffiliating them and letting them die.

From this reality, social disaffiliation has the effect of distancing a certain social fraction from what is commonly understood as the place of a citizen who is entitled to rights. Without having a “state” and without usufruct rights, as a result of any form of protection, many people, such as those in the street, are seen as disenrolled by excellence⁽³⁾.

With regard specifically to these people, whose bodies vandalized by the perverse exclusion appear as their main holder and whose trajectories are multiform, the agencies made from the encounter of forces in the public space point to the emergence of subjectivities marked by singular knowledge-power relationships⁽¹⁹⁻²⁰⁾.

Under this perspective, this disciplinary order exposes, under all aspects, the regulation of specific bodies and groups that are seen as “unwanted”, having their images, coadunate

to what causes terror, fear, insecurity and thus reinforcing attempts to social segregation in the name of public security and order⁽¹¹⁾.

Despite the manifest presence of different forms of discipline, control and monitoring of cities and bodies, socio-economic disparities print on the urban scene particular forms of occupation that strain urban planning oriented towards social asepsis and gentrification.

In that aspect, the reality helps to intensify the process of inequality and social injustice constitutes modes of existence that do not operate by life or death, but by survival, which corresponds to the particularity of biopolitics in the century XX⁽⁹⁾. Based on this idea and the notion of human corporeity that is built from experiences, it can be said that nomadic space participates uniquely in the bodily configuration of its inhabitants, mainly due to the particularities that compose it.

Indeed, the (little) importance given to the body in the street situation and to the disenrollment prescribed in a heterotopic context is contingent on the basis of society and the time, so it could not fail to reiterate its close relationship with the rules of control and social domain. Consequently, the articulation of the heterogeneous bodies presented in this research in line with the appropriate urban spaces and with the historical-temporal context allow us to recognize that the number of social disaffiliates grows in accelerated proportions.

And, this social disaffiliation allows us to visualize a continuous and ascending process that represents a path whose return to social integration demands the implementation of a reconstructive policy by the State of Social Welfare.

Conclusions

The scenario of vulnerability and social disaffiliation described in this research calls us to reflect on the stories of life and bodily marks that the experiences of appropriation of a heterotopic space bring. Despite the affirmative actions present an enhanced behavior in Latin

American countries, access to certain social rights based on strategies for promoting equity, social disaffiliation continues to show its presence in the micro relations, mainly in the public-collective spheres.

In this sense, it is perceptible that the social changes necessary to guarantee the recognition of minority groups must be mobilized based on aspects inherent to human rights. This analysis allows us to verify not only the persistence of social duality, but its deepening in the segregationist processes to which the population in a street situation has been subjected.

At the edges of this study, contemporary actions should be developed in the city to improve the practices of care and attention to people in the urban space, among which are the recognition of human rights, harm reduction measures, the opening and access to the health system, the implementation of the figure of offices in the street, community listening spaces, offer of leisure activities, social participation (which is definitely political) and offices of labor or occupational mediation.

Faced with the terrors spread by the ways of governing the lives of people in street situations, both at the State and microphysical level, it becomes unpredictable, to think of dialogic unfolding that approximates an inclusive, transversal, progressive but mainly sustainable social and health policy in time, that is able to articulate stylistics of existence that are not restricted to the attention of a symptom more than one body, a mind and a spirit.

Finally, it should not be omitted that corporeality as an element of social rejection does not depart from behavior, fear is consolidated in the idea that people think that body and mind are separated. In fact, the problems of rejection that cause low self-esteem, depression and feeling of hopelessness, is thanks to this double interaction, body-mind. On the other hand, it should be noted that necropolitical and hedonistic societies obey a very clear reason: the neoliberal economic scheme.

Regarding this idea, it is the duty of people interested in making substantial changes

protected by the doctrine of Human Rights, to make a complaint, about the fact that necroticism, hedonism and consumerism, stimulated by the economic scheme, is aggravated by these people inhabitants of the street, but the others also live it. The difference? greater resilience, containment systems and a less pronounced disaffiliation. But what these people tell us, it is not an exclusive history of them, it is a risk that the human being of the 21st century lives and that is the wealth of the moral that leaves us.

The political economic system prevailing in our societies overwhelms and drugs in any of its presentations, legal illegal, of prescription and without it, every time becomes an existential palliative means.

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1. conception, design, analysis and interpretation of data: Jaime Alonso Caravaca-Morera;
2. writing of the article and relevant critical review of the intellectual content: Jaime Alonso Caravaca-Morera, Eugenia Mata-Chavarría and Maria Itayra Padilha;
3. final approval of the version to be published: Jaime Alonso Caravaca-Morera, Eugenia Mata-Chavarría and Maria Itayra Padilha.

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